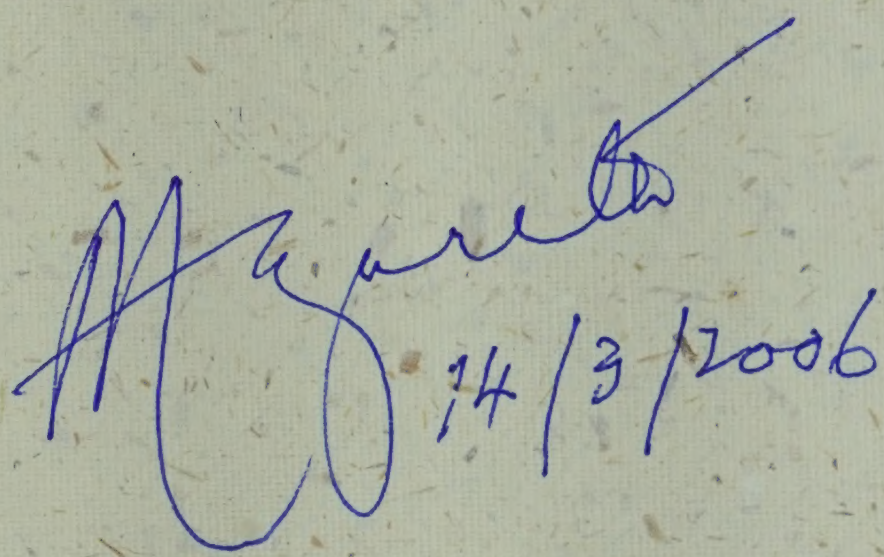
Gandhi's Outstanding Leadership

by

Pascal Alan Nazareth

Sarvodaya International Trust
Gandhi Centre of Science & Human Values
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan



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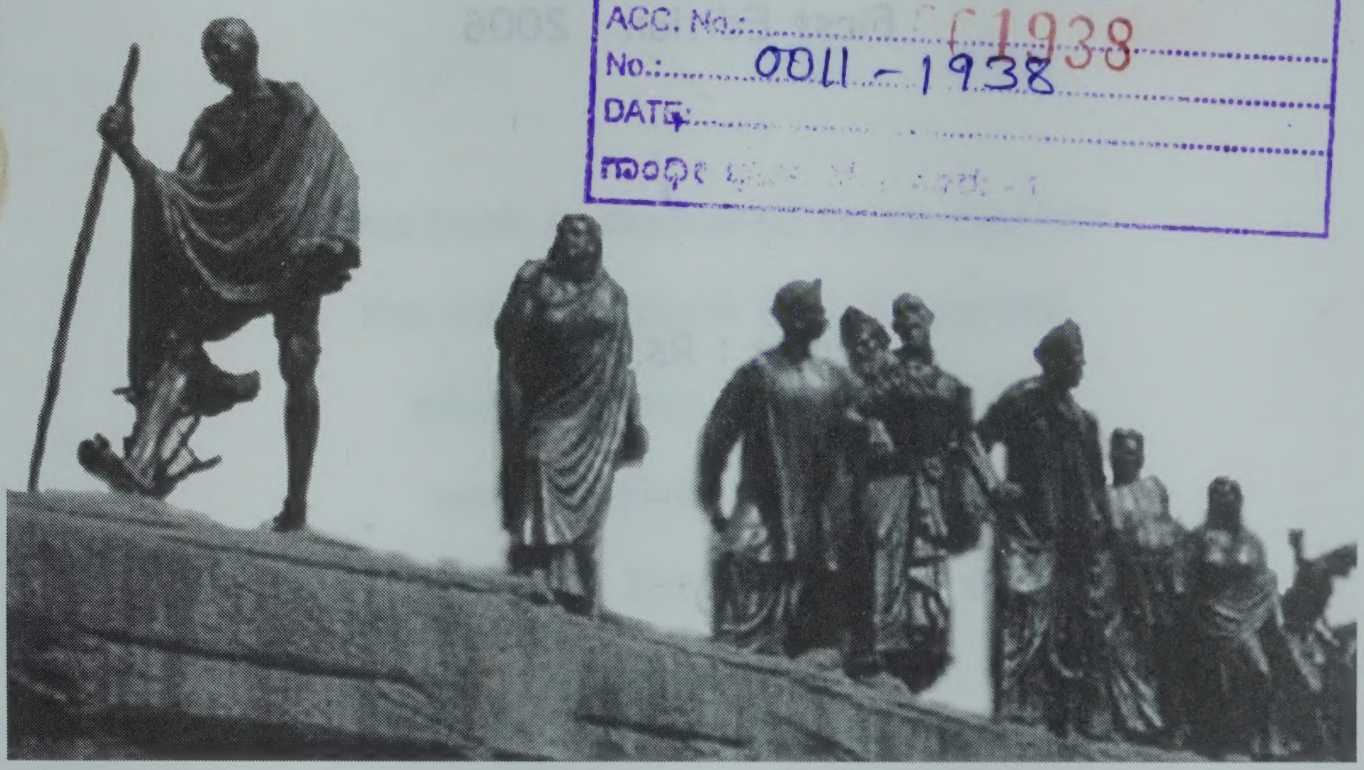

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This book is dedicated to my mother
the late Elizabeth Lucy Nazareth,
who, with her *"widow's mite"*,
was the first supporter of
Sarvodaya International Trust.

A Psalm of Life

"Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul...

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife !...

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Foot prints that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

FOREWORD

Socrates has been compared to a *"mountain peak that dazzles in the last rays of the setting sun"* which though *"lost in the mists of time will yet remain in the minds and hearts of men as long as right is might and life is stronger than death"*. Gandhi would, forever, be such a dazzling mountain peak of righteousness. His scholarly grandson Rajmohan Gandhi expresses this thought beautifully *"Strange yet wise, hard with many, hardest with himself and yet twinkling, drawn instinctively to Truth and persevering in love, his life a fuel for lighting up human suffering, obstinate at times and hazardously sure of himself, Gandhi was with all that, India's good boatman, and through the twentieth century a spark for consciences across the world."*

Gandhi's biographer Louis Fischer quotes General Omar Bradley *"We have too many men of science, too few men of God. We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the Sermon on the Mount"* and writes *"Gandhi rejected the atom and grasped the Sermon on the Mount. He was a nuclear infant and an ethical giant. He knew nothing about killing and much about living in the twentieth century"*

In his *' Pilgrimage to Non-Violence'*, Martin Luther King Jr. declared *"If we assume that mankind has a right to survive, then we must find an alternative to war and destruction. In our age of space vehicles and guided ballistic missiles, the choice is either non-violence or non-existence"*

In November 1989, in a spontaneous upsurge against Soviet occupation of their country over a hundred thousand marchers, many of them students, gathered in Wenceslas Square in Prague. They carried flowers, held candles and waved flags. When they were boxed in and charged by the riot police, their leader Vaclav Havel, echoing Gandhi, exhorted them to refrain from violence. They sat down peacefully in the square and all the roads leading into it and sang nursery rhymes for five full days. It worked and gave the Czechs their *"Velvet Revolution"*. Havel hailed it as *" a rebellion of Truth against lies, of purities against impurities, of the human heart against violence"*

The question *"Is Gandhi relevant today?"* can be asked only by those whose souls are enslaved by the thralldom of the world. What breath is to life, Gandhi is to humanity and civilization. In the words of Mary E King, author of *'Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. - The Power of Non Violent Action'*: *"Gandhi was ....a pioneer in leading eight militant struggles - against racism, against colonialism, against the caste system, for popular democratic participation, against economic exploitation, against the degradation of women, against religious and ethnic supremacy, and on behalf of nonviolent methods for social and political transformations. Because of the breadth of his concerns, there is, in a sense, a different Gandhi for each reader.....As long as there is strife, hostilities, ethnic cleansing, religious unrest, internal conflicts and threats of military occupation, people will turn to Gandhi. His usefulness will not end unless conflict ceases."*

Writing on *'Freedom and Equality'*, on the Twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Noble Laureate Professor René-Samuel Cassin, French jurist and President of the European Court of Human Rights concluded his essay with these words: *"If the world, whose progress towards unity is increasingly determined by technology, is to remain a human world, there is nothing more essential than the realization of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration. Conscious of his dignity, man must defend his freedoms without forgetting that, as Mahatma Gandhi so wisely said, these freedoms must be used to further the fulfilment of his duties and it must be added, to treat his fellow men as equals and brothers."*

Mr. Pascal Alan Nazareth has done much in recent times to honour and celebrate that great moral jewel called Mahatma Gandhi. His present book analysing Gandhi's leadership, listing its achievements and wide spectrum impact and cogently presenting its great relevance to leaders and individuals alike in the contemporary situation is yet another notable contribution.

M. N. Venkatachaliah
October 2, 2005

PREFACE

Even a cursory survey of the global scenario in the last ten years reveals that the major problems the world, many nations, corporations and communities suffer today are due to their leaders forsaking the path of Truth, justice and non-violent conflict resolution in pursuit of national, corporate, religious or personal agendas. The consequences have been disastrous. The impeachment of a US President, conviction of an Indian Prime Minister, indictment of the Chilean and Peruvian presidents, expulsion of eleven members of India's Parliament, bankruptcies of Enron, World Com, Marconi, Tyco and Parmalat, wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and terrorist attacks in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Aden, New York, Washington, Moscow, Bali, Istanbul, Tel Aviv, Rabat, New Delhi, Mumbai, London, Sharm al Sheik and Amman. The imperative need for trustworthy leaders of integrity in all walks of life has never been greater than now.

The last two centuries have been the most blood-stained in human history. In the 20th century alone almost a hundred million people have been killed in the two world wars, the atom bomb drops on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Arab-Israeli, India-Pakistan, Iran-Iraq, Korean, Vietnamese and Afghan wars, the Spanish, Greek, Chinese and Sudanese civil wars; the Armenian genocide, Hitler's gas chambers, Cambodia's "Killing Fields"; Tibetan, Algerian, Angolan, Mozambican and Bangladeshi national liberation struggles, anti-racism struggles in South Africa and Guatemala, ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and innumerable tribal & secessionist conflicts in Africa and other parts of the world. In all these cases violence was met with more violence and bigger, more effective weapons. The "9/11" spectacular terrorist attack on New York's World Trade Centre, has dramatically changed the nature of armed conflict. It has ushered in the era of asymmetric warfare where the enemy is not a foreign state but a few suicidal terrorists, who strike from within rather than from outside the country and cause enormous devastation by using the host country's own assets such as its airplanes and airports. Antiterrorism analysts now consider a terrorist attack with improvised nuclear arms is a distinct possibility. Martin Luther King's words "*the choice is either non-violence or non-existence*" are far truer today than when he spoke them.

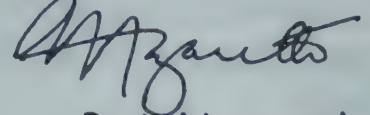
The first 20th century leader to successfully confront the cult of violence and the injustices of racism, colonialism, casteism and other such political and social evils, and fashioned an effective non violent strategy for doing this, was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, revered by millions as the "Mahatma". Innumerable books have been written about his Truth and non violence 'Satyagraha' strategy, his "*fads*", foibles, asceticism and achievements but hardly any about his leadership, its quality and stature, how it was acquired and has impacted on peoples, societies, movements, institutions, academic disciplines and history, and its relevance to the contemporary war, violence and terrorism plagued scenario. This is a modest attempt to assess these aspects of Gandhi's leadership in historical and practical terms.

All quotations in this book are attributed to the authors but not to the books they appear in. These are listed in the bibliography.

This book would not have seen the light of day but for the active encouragement of many scholarly friends. My manifold thanks to all of them, particularly to Dr. B.R. Nanda (New Delhi), Mr Narendar Pani, Mrs Shakuntala Narasimhan and Mrs Srividya Mouli (Bangalore), Ambassador (Retd) A. Mahdavan (Mysore), Dr. Leticia Shahani (Manila), Mrs Jenny Lampson (Los Angeles) and Mr G.T. Whitman (New York) for their critical assessment of the text and suggestions for its improvement. My special thanks to Burjor and Nina Kothawala (Bangalore) for urging that this book, originally intended for teachers only, be enlarged for a wide readership, to graphic artist Geeta Vadhera (New Delhi) for her valuable inputs regarding the design and layout, to Gandhi Centre of Science and Human Values for graciously agreeing to co-publish this book and to Viji, Mala and Murli of W.Q. Judge Press for uncomplainingly accepting the many amendments and additions I kept making to what they were assured was the finalized text.

I offer my respectful thanks to Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah, distinguished former Chief Justice of India and Founder Chairman, Sarvodaya International Trust, for writing the erudite Foreword.

I am deeply grateful to my dear wife Isobel who has patiently endured my many hours at the computer and often brought my breakfast, lunch and tea to a table next to it.



P. A. Nazareth
January 30th, 2006

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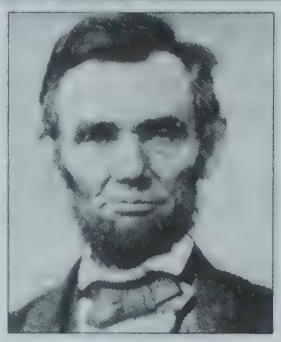
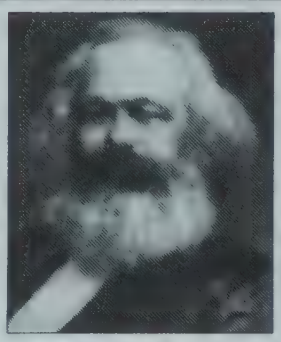
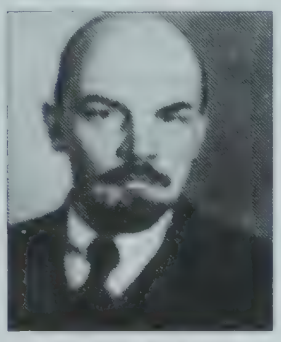


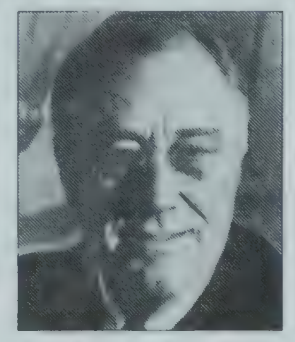
Abraham Linclon



Karl Marx



Vladimir I. Lenin



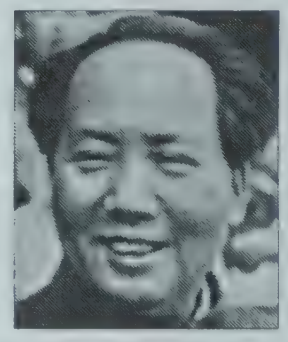
Franklin D. Roosevelt

Winston Churchill

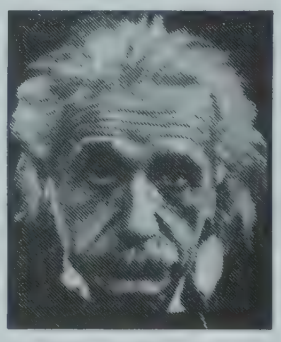
Adolph Hitler

Josef Stalin

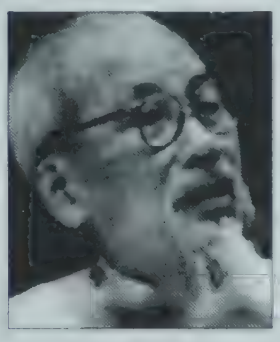
Jawaharlal Nehru



Mao Tse Tung

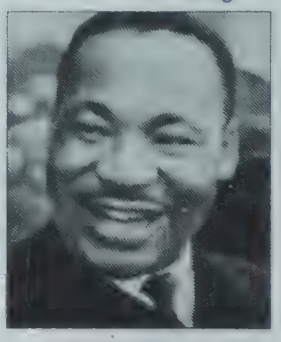


Albert Einstein



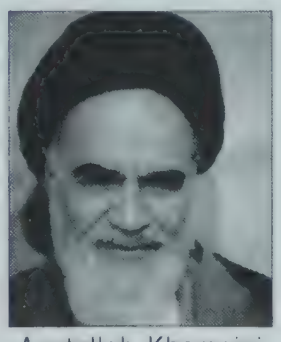
Ho Chi Minh

John Kennedy



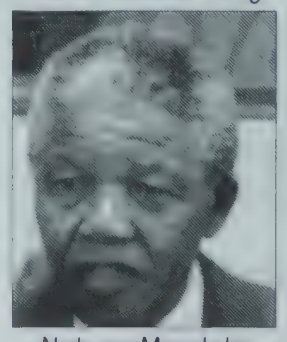
Martin Luther King

Indira Gandhi



Ayatollah Khomeini

Margaret Thatcher



Nelson Mandela

Corazon Aquino

Leadership Requirements and Notable Modern Leaders

For Ralph Waldo Emerson "Great are they who see that the spiritual is stronger than any material force, that thoughts rule the world."

John Maxwell, the American leadership guru, gives the following 21 requirements as "indispensable qualities" a leader must have to become "the person others will want to follow": Character, charisma, commitment, communication, competence, courage, discernment, focus, generosity, initiative, listening, passion, positive attitude, problem solving, relationships, responsibility, security, self discipline, servanthood, teachability, and vision. As a short definition of leadership he quotes the British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery. "Leadership is the capacity and will to rally men and women to a common purpose and the character which inspires confidence"

In the above alphabetical listing of leadership requirements Vision comes last. However in any listing of them in order of importance it needs to come first. A leader must know where he wishes to lead his people and how he intends to get them there. Besides he must lead them into a better rather than a worse scenario in which they are placed. For this, besides Vision, he will minimally need Character, Charisma, Compassion, Courage, Dedication, Determination, Communication, Organizational, Managerial and Strategizing Skills, Magnanimity, Self Assurance, Enlightened Patriotism and a Wide Spectrum World View, so as to inspire and lead his people, beyond traditional political, economic, scientific, social, religious or ideological confines and leave a permanent imprint on history. The more enduring and beneficial that imprint, the greater the societal, national, global and intellectual landscape over which it is felt, and the more accurate his/her vision of the future, the more outstanding the leader he/she is.

Surveying modern history, i.e. since the French Revolution which is generally accepted as harbinger of the modern age of nation states, the leaders who stand out as great are Napoleon, Bolivar, Lincoln, Lenin, Kemal Ataturk, Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Gandhi, Nehru,

Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Nasser, Kennedy, Castro, Martin Luther King, Indira Gandhi, Khomeini, Sadat, Margaret Thatcher, Mandela, Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, Corazon Aquino and the 14th Dalai Lama. All of them have led their peoples beyond traditional confines and left an indelible imprint on history, big or small, favourable or unfavourable, local, regional or global.

Leaders who inspire, and command universal respect are those who espoused Right rather than Might, and truth, justice and non-violent conflict resolution rather than hate, violence and war. Lincoln's words *"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it"* are still as powerfully inspiring as they were a hundred and forty years ago when they were spoken. Napoleon's words, uttered at his remote St. Helena island prison are significant. *"Glory is fleeting, obscurity is forever. A new Prometheus, I am chained to a rock to be gnawed by a vulture.....There are only two powers in the world - the spirit and the sword. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit"*. Hitler's words are notable for a contrary reason *"The victor will never be asked if he told the truth"; so also are Churchill's "In war, every Truth has to have an escort of Lies" and Mao's "Power grows out of the barrel of a gun"*.

Nobel Laureate Desmond Tutu in his lecture *"Is there hope for Humanity"* at Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore in December 2005, stated *"Even in hardnosed cynical cultures it is amazing that those we admire, indeed revere, are not the macho, the aggressive, the successful. No, the people we hold almost universally in high regard are Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr, the Dalai Lama, Mother Theresa, Nelson Mandela, and why? Because they are good. We have internal antennae which home in on goodness because we are created for goodness, for love, for gentleness, for compassion, for sharing, We are almost the ultimate paradox, the finite created for the infinite"*.

The Most Outstanding Among Modern Leaders

Judging by the magnitude of their respective achievements and the historical and inspirational impact each of them have made, Gandhi emerges the tallest among the listed modern leaders. In a century that has the awesome distinction of being the most violent in history he confronted, non-violently, the largest, most powerful empire and secured freedom for India, which then had a fifth of the world's population, and induced broad spectrum political, economic and social change within it. He subsequently inspired non-violent people's struggles which achieved decolonization worldwide, ended racial oppression in USA and South Africa and terminated dictatorships in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Phillipines, Russia, Chile, Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine. His continuing inspiration is seen in the heroic struggles of the Tibetan & Burmese peoples and ecologists, environmentalists and others worldwide. Besides, he has more books written about him and more information centers and societies all over the world to promote his non-violent strategy than any other modern leader. He is also the only one of them to be honoured with a full length opera - 'Satyagraha' by Phillip Glass - which though sung in Sanskrit has packed concert halls in leading US and European cities. Richard Attenborough's film 'Gandhi' has been seen by many, many, more people than any other film on a modern leader. In the polls taken in 1999 for the "Man of the Millenium" Gandhi came on top in one and within the top three in the others.

The 'Force More Powerful' film series, (produced by York Zimmerman Inc and WETA, Washington D.C., with funding from Albert Einstein Institute and Arthur Vining Davis Foundation), documents successful non-violent struggles in India, USA, South Africa, Denmark, Poland and Chile. The lead line in each of these films is *"Gandhi's discovery of the power of Non-Violence changed the 20th century"*. This can hardly be said of any other modern leader.

About modern leaders Louis Fischer writes *"The big names of recent history : Churchill, Roosevelt, Lloyd George, Stalin, Lenin, Hitler, Woodrow Wilson, the Kaiser, Lincoln, Napleon, Metternich, Talleyrand etc, had the power of states at their disposal. The only non official figure comparable to*

Gandhi arriving at Buckingham Palace in his "uniform"

Gandhi in his effect on men's minds is Karl Marx whose dogma, however, was a prescription for a system of government. One has to go back centuries to find men who appealed so strongly as Gandhi did to the conscience of individuals. They were men of religion, in another era. Gandhi showed that the spirit of Christ and of Buddha and of some Hebrew prophets and Greek sages, could be applied in modern times and to modern politics. He did not preach about God or religion; he was a living sermon. He was a good man in a world where few resist the corroding influence of power, wealth and vanity."

Because we are *"the finite created for the infinite"* the leadership we need, and deserve, has to be rooted in immortal values. In the final analysis good and trustworthy Leadership calls for moral judgements on what is right action because history has amply demonstrated that in the long run Truth alone triumphs. Decisions based solely on technical knowledge do not require leadership. To make right choices leaders need to have deep understanding of the lives and ideas of the world's great moral philosophers and of those who have applied them to solve some of its most difficult problems.

The global scenario has changed enormously in the last five decades. Almost all countries are now independent and rule themselves. Modern technology has shrunk the world. Travel across it that took months and weeks is now completed in hours. Voice, text and pictorial messages are transmitted in split seconds. On the other hand weapons of mass destruction can, and have reduced large cities to ashes in seconds. The economic field is now dominated by the mega firm and multinational corporation whose actions affect millions of lives yet are only minimally controlled by any country's laws. The United Nations was established in 1945 to rid the world of the scourge of war. Yet, a super power still strides the world like a colossus, puts a *"spin"* on intelligence and engages in *"pre-emptive strikes"* and *"regime change"* at will. The need for a clear concept as to what constitutes enlightened and trustworthy leadership in the contemporary world, and a suitable model for it, is therefore as great as it is urgent.

Assessments of Gandhi's Leadership

"China followed Sun Yat Sen, took up the sword and fell into the arms of Japan. India, weaponless, accepted as her leader one of the strangest figures in history, and gave to the world the unprecedented phenomenon of a revolution led by a saint, and waged without a gun..... He did not mouth the name of Christ, but acted as if he accepted every word on the Sermon on the Mount. Not since St. Francis of Assisi has any life known to history been so marked by gentleness, disinterestedness, simplicity and forgiveness of enemies."

Will Durant

"Gandhi waded into the slough, showed how the slough could be purified and remained personally uncontaminated by his immersion in it. This gives the measure both of Gandhi's own spiritual stature and the magnitude of his service to mankind at a turning point in human history"

Arnold Toynbee

"A leader of his people, unsupported by any outward authority, a victorious fighter who always scorned the use of force, a man of wisdom and humility who has confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of the simple human being and has at all times risen superior .....Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a man as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth"

Albert Einstein

Gandhi was an experimenter in the development of "war without violence'. His work was pioneering and not always adequate, but it represents a major development of historic significance both in ethics and in politics..... Many problems in its further development and application remain. But in words and action Gandhi pointed toward what may be the key to the resolution of the dilemma of how one can behave peacefully and at the same time actively, and effectively oppose oppression and injustice."

Professor Gene Sharpe

"Most revolutions create enormous aspirations and never really fulfill them; some betray them utterly. The American Revolution quickly drew boundaries around notions of freedom that were its inspiration, excluding African Americans, native Americans, and to a considerable degree women. The French Revolution produced a frenzy of murderous rage, followed by nearly another century of monarchies. The Russian and Chinese Revolutions created tyranny, oppression and stagnations. Gandhi has been so mythologized since his assassination in 1948, the real man has almost disappeared. But he deserves his position as a resonant symbol of one of the most important phenomena of modern history: the simultaneous assault on colonialism and the oppression of individuals, which has transformed much of the 20th century world"

Prof. Alan Brinkley

"The fragility of modern civilization is exposed by the frighteningly ineffective way in which our world approaches conflict resolution. In international relationships, neither conventional diplomacy nor various uses of military deterrence have improved the thin margin on which the world exists. This somewhat pessimistic reading of history is challenged by one major exception, Mahatma Gandhi's application of policies and techniques of non-violence in India. Gandhi's success both redeems human nature from the inevitability of its historical experience and also suggests the viability of non-violence in modern situations."

Prof. Ralph Bultjens

"Gandhi has a future all over the world....That future should not only be seen in terms of what happens or what might happen in countries and the world. More important is local social transformation and local autonomy. Gandhi's village is known as a municipality in many parts of the world. His panchayat is also known as "local government" and may be a cornerstone in a future world order close to satyagraha and sarvodaya. Electronic people-to-people communication may also bring the world closer to Gandhi's oceanic cirles.....The world is one oikos, one household..... Gandhi has shown the way, and that way is a goal in its own right."

Prof. Johan Galtung

*"Physical force is transitory, even as the body is transitory;
but the power of the spirit is permanent even as the spirit is everlasting"*

Art work by Geeta Vadhera

The Global and Indian Scenarios in which Gandhi Operated

Gene Sharpe writes *"Gandhi was the contemporary of Tsar Nicholas, Lenin and Stalin, Kaiser Wilhelm and Adolph Hitler, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, of the last Emperor of China, Sun Yat Sen, Chiang Kai Shek and Mao Tse Tung. He bridged the span between the time when wars were fought by armies with rifles to the time when they were fought with atom bombs...Racism ran rampant, women, untouchables and many others were denied dignity and opportunities. These were among the social and political evils for which Gandhi sought solutions"*

In India, nationalists exulted over Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905 and throbbed with strong revolutionary fervour. Their father figure was Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the Bengali novelist, whose popular novel 'Anandamath' had become the handbook of secret societies and its hero Satyanand, the model for "revolutionaries". It contained the rousing hymn 'Bande Mataram', dedicated to Mother India. The 1904 British decision to divide Bengal on religious lines had outraged Indian nationalists. Cambridge educated Aurobindo Ghosh, selected for the coveted Indian Civil Service, gave it up to join the radical nationalists and wrote 'Bhabhani Mandir'. It was a stirring call to India's youth to sacrifice themselves, in Goddess Kali's name, for Mother India's unity and dignity. Yugantar, a new weekly launched in 1906 "breathed bombs in every line". 'Bartaman Rananiti, ('Modern Art of War') published in 1907 propagated Bakunin's idea that in creating an equitable society destruction was inescapable. Several British officials were assassinated, in India and England, between 1905 - 1915 . Viceroy Lord Hardinge, attacked while on a ceremonial procession in December 1912, narrowly escaped assassination. Peter French gives an interesting description of this attack *"Two days before Christmas 1912, Hardinge alighted at Delhi Railway station and clambered aboard an enormous elephant. Sitting in an elaborate silver howdah, he advanced slowly down Chandni Chowk, a thoroughfare of great symbolic significance. It had once been the finest boulevard and market of the Moghul empire, only to be turned into a charnel ground in the aftermath of the 1857 revolt, when the victorious British hanged countless Nawabs, rajahs and rebels down the middle of it. Now it had been chosen as the processional route for the Viceroy who had come to inaugurate the construction of Edwin Luytens & Herbert Baker's New Delhi. His Excellency had not got*

far when his helmet shot into the air, a bang was heard six miles away and the servant holding the State Umbrella was blown to pieces. An unknown Indian had hurled a bomb at the living symbol of imperial power. One of the vice-regal ear drums burst and it was to take many years for all the nails, screws and gramophone needles to work their way out of his body.... The unsuccessful assassin was never caught. This attack was the high point of revolutionary terrorism by Indian nationalists" .

At the 1919 Amritsar Congress when Gandhi spoke about Truth and Non-Violence, senior nationalist Bal Gangadhar Tilak brusquely retorted "My friend, Truth has no place in politics". Two decades later, another important leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President in 1938, openly disagreed with Gandhi's non-violent strategy, and secretly left India for Germany and Japan. With the latter's collaboration he set up the 'Indian National Army' with British Indian troops captured by the Japanese in South East Asia, and marched in their train towards India. His slogan was *"Give me blood and I promise you freedom"*. It was an offer of freedom with *"the gun and the boot as against Gandhi's charka and wooden sandals"* states Rajmohan Gandhi pointing out that the violence of the militants was not the only challenge Gandhi faced. " *The outcastes were nervous about power moving from British to caste Hindu hands. In the South and in Maharashtra lower castes were joining hands against Brahmins. Ruling more than 500 states, India's princes seemed suspicious of their subjects and of Congress's intentions. Owners of agricultural lands were suspicious of absentee landlords and tillers, and fearful, if small cultivators, of losing their holdings to town based creditors. Communities coveting army or police jobs felt threatened by one another. For protection against rivals or adversaries each group, communal, caste or class, was inclined to turn to the Raj, thereby strengthening its hegemony even while disliking its alienness and burden. Uniting Indians for dislodging it was a large and difficult project".*

Gandhi succeeded in getting the Indian National Congress, and the Indian people, to adopt his non-violent strategy for national liberation only because of his total identification with the poverty stricken Indian people, high moral stature, innovative communication, management and strategizing skills and the impressive results his Satyagraha campaigns produced 1920 onwards.

The Components of Gandhi's Leadership

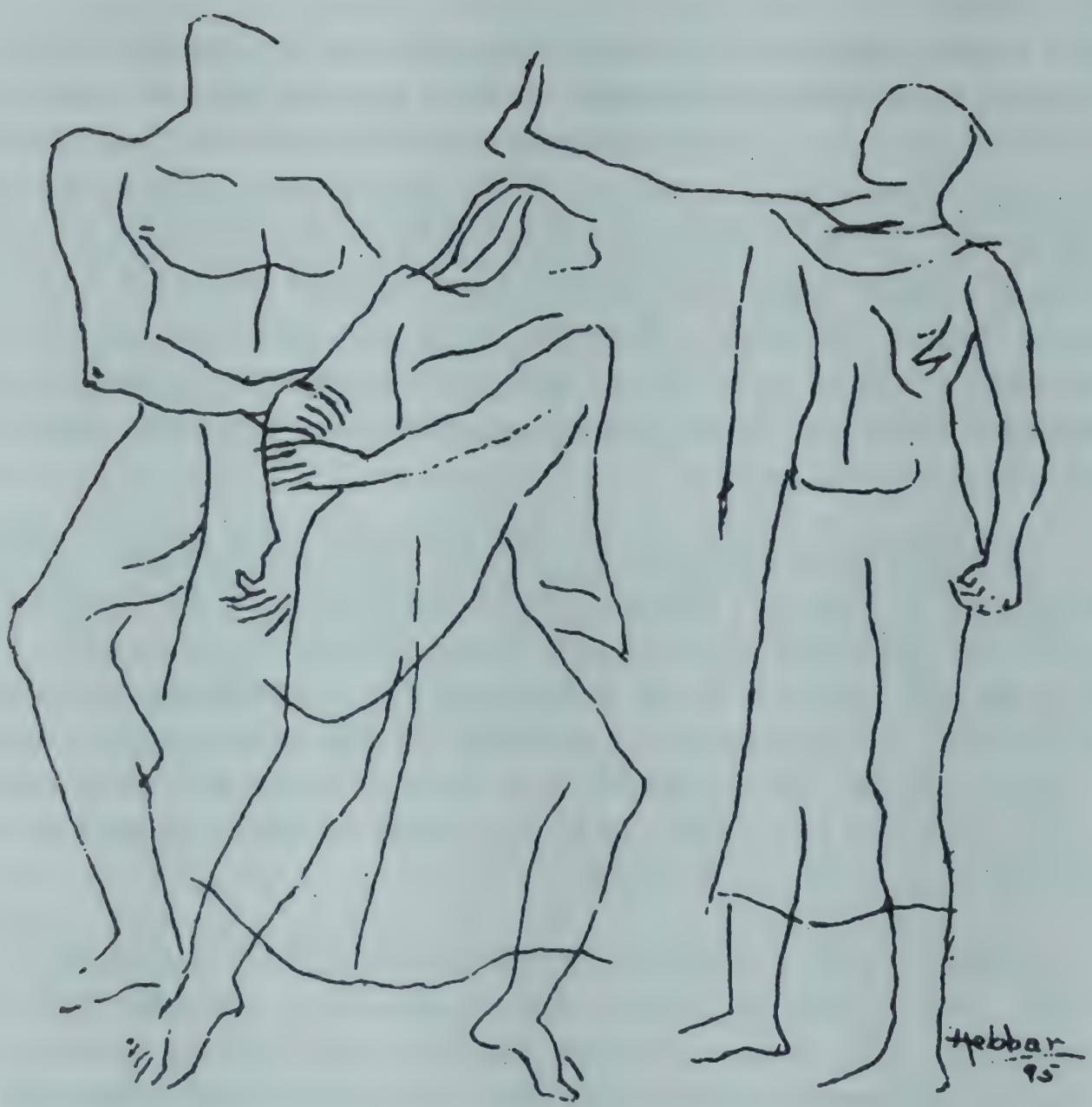
A. Vision

The prime component of Gandhi's leadership was his elevated vision that humans, the highest manifestation of God's creation, can and would live in harmony and peace, firmly adhering to Truth, Justice, Love and Non-Violence. *"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law - that of the spirit.... It is the law of love that rules mankind. Had violence i.e. hate ruled us, we should have become extinct long ago. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence. Hatred can be overcome only by love"*

In his historical perspective he saw dictators and tyrants maintaining their fearful sway only temporarily. All empires built with the sword end up in the dustbin of history; only those built on the spirit with Truth, love and self sacrifice by the great seers and prophets have survived and flourished. Since humans are created *"in the image of God"* and are imbued with the *"Divine Spark"* they have to be led by Truth and love, not by fear and hate. One has to live, and if necessary to die for Truth, but never to hurt or kill anyone.

For Gandhi, Truth (Satya) was as real and omnipotent as God himself. In fact, Truth is God, as Truth is what is and God is the only reality that always is. *"The world rests upon the bedrock of Satya ... which being what is can never be destroyed. This is the doctrine of Satyagraha in a nutshell".* Truth is the 'Right Path' and it is 'Right that is Might' not its opposite. He often quoted the Bhagavad Gita's core philosophical assertion *'Satyanasti paro Dharma'* (There is no greater duty than adherence to Truth).

Truth implies Justice and both are essential requisites for the attainment of peace. *"Peace will come when Truth is pursued, and Truth implies Justice".* Justice requires that the adversary's views and



"Strength does not come from physical capacity.
It comes from an indomitable will."

Artwork by K K Hebbar

requirements be given due consideration. *"Three fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world would disappear if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint".* Justice also requires that the final agreement made be acceptable to all concerned.

Whereas Gandhi was passionately dedicated to Truth even as a youth, particularly after he learnt about Harishchandra's unshakable adherence to it despite innumerable hardships, his deep commitment to non-violence came only in his early thirties after he read Christ's *'Sermon on the Mount' and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is within you'.* The strong non-violence traditions of the Jain community of his native Gujarat had of course mentally prepared him for this. Non-violence thus became his immutable path for realization of Truth. For him it meant complete abstention not only from all physical, mental and emotional injury to others but also cleansing oneself of all hatred and desire for revenge. One had to hate and confront evil but nonetheless love the evil doer because even he is endowed with the Divine spark which love can ignite and induce his conversion . *"Non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in its essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love...The hardest metal yields to sufficient heat. Even so, the hardest heart must melt before the heat of non-violence and there is no limit to the capacity of non-violence to generate heat"*

For him: *"The objective of all non-violent activity is always a mutually acceptable agreement, never the defeat, much less the humiliation of the opponent "* and *"A non-violent revolution is not a programme for seizure of power. It is a programme for transformation of relationships ending in a peaceful transfer of power."*

Gandhi's vision, though considered utopian by some and arcadian by others, was actually an elevated, wide spectrum, deeply spiritual yet practical one. Like the tall redwood tree, which views the farthermost horizon, yet is fully aware of every environmental nuance around its sumptuous girth and at its deepest root, Gandhi perceived the macro and micro effects of human behaviour in diverse fields. His vision can justifiably therefore be described as extraordinary.

B. Courage and character

Gandhi was not born courageous. In his childhood and youth he was extremely timid. In childhood he was greatly afraid of snakes, ghosts, thieves and darkness. It was his devoted maid Rambha who enabled him to overcome these fears by persuading him that invoking the name of Lord Ram was an effective antidote for all fears. At school he was an active participant in various activities, including sports, and at times even functioned as an umpire. But this self confidence was only among those he was very familiar with.

When after his return from London, he commenced legal practice in Bombay in 1893, he was still so timid he failed to argue his first brief. In his autobiography he writes *" I stood up, but my heart sank into my boots. My head was reeling and I felt as though the whole court was doing likewise. I could think of no question to ask. The judge must have laughed, but I was past seeing anything. I sat down and told the client that I could not conduct the case. I hastened from the court not knowing whether my client won or lost her case. I was ashamed of myself and decided not to take up any more cases until I had courage enough to conduct them. Indeed I did not go to court again until I went to South Africa"*

The first noticeable change from timidity to boldness came when he was rudely ejected from the office of the British Political agent in Rajkot,

Charles Ollivant in December 1892. Having known him in London, he had gone to intercede on behalf of his brother Laxmidas who had come to the former's adverse notice. He was so outraged by the rude treatment, which he describes as *"the first shock"* and one that *"changed the course"* of his life, that he seriously considered legal action against Ollivant for "assault". The eminent barrister Sir Pherozeshah Mehta advised him against it. Ollivant's rebuff made him resolve never again to espouse any improper matter and "somehow to leave India". He gladly accepted the invitation that came soon thereafter from Abdullah and Company of Durban, to handle their legal case in South Africa. About the "first shock" Copley writes " *Gandhi absorbed a far reaching lesson from this set back in that he subsequently placed a public ethic of incorruptibility above all sectional demands of family, caste and community, a value system with devastating implications for Indian society."*

His next transformational change came within ten days of his arrival in South Africa. He was on his way from Durban to Johannesberg when he was thrown out of the train at Pietermaritzberg he had a valid first class ticket, was well dressed and had inconvenienced no one. His crime was being seated in a "whites only" compartment and refusing to shift to the "van". He was just 24 years old then. His reaction to this humiliation was quite different to that of Ollivant's rebuff and is a good indication of the evolution of his personality and the sprouting of his leadership. In his autobiography he writes *"I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India.... It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial - only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try if possible to root out the disease and suffer the hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice.".*

Unlike his *"first shock"* when securing an apology from Ollivant was his prime concern, on this occasion it was the *"deep disease of colour prejudice"* and not the affront to his dignity which impelled him to action. Besides, though tempted to leave South Africa he firmly resisted it, because this *"would be cowardice"*. Many years later, when questioned by

Christian missionary John Mott as to what was the most *"creative experience"* of his life, he replied that it was the Pietermaritzberg episode. *"That changed the course of my life. My active non-violence began from that date and God put me through the test during that very journey"* Whereas both "shocks" changed the course of Gandhi's life, the former was a *"fight for self respect"* while the latter was awakening to the social evil of colour prejudice. However, the enunciation of his doctrine of Satyagraha was still thirteen years away.

The morning after being ejected from the train at Pietermaritzberg he sent a long telegram to the General Manager of the Railways. He met local Indians to ascertain the nature and extent of the *"deep disease"* and urged them to join him in resisting it. On arrival in Pretoria - he suffered further humiliations there as also enroute - he convened a meeting of Indians there, and proposed the setting up an association to represent their grievances to the authorities. He offered to place at their disposal *"as much of my time and service as was possible"*. As a result the Natal Indian Congress was set up in 1894. One of its first achievements was to secure a reduction of a proposed Pound 25 a year poll tax on Indians to Pound 3. Another early success was permission for *"properly dressed"* Indians to travel first class by Railways.

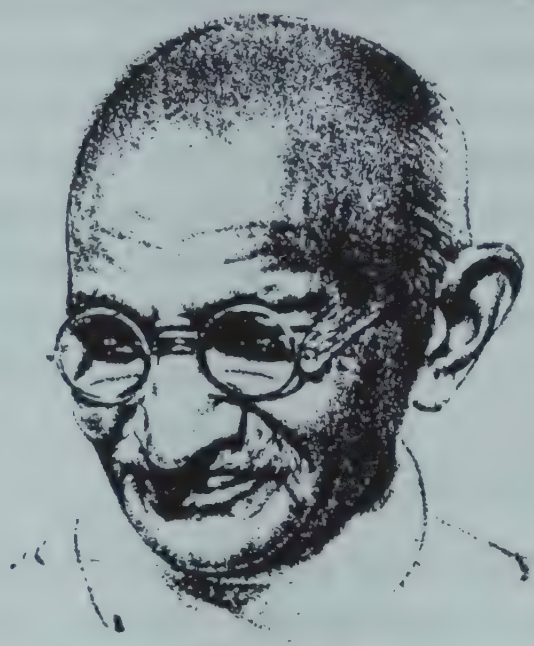
The key to understanding Gandhi's transformation from extreme timidity to fearless leadership is to be found in the evolution of his spiritual makeup. He had been brought up as a devout Vaishnava Hindu and remained a life long devotee of Lord Ram. However, he had not read the Bhagawad Gita until he got to London, where he learnt about it from two Theosophists who had become acquainted with it through Edwin Arnold's *'Song Celestial'*. In his autobiography he writes *"I felt ashamed as I had read the divine poem neither in Sanskrit nor in Gujarati...I began reading the Gita with them. The verses in the second chapter made a deep impression on my mind and still ring in my ears:*

"If one ponders on objects of the sense, there springs attraction
From attraction grows desire, which flames fierce passion
Passion breeds recklessness; then the memory - all betrayed -
Lets noble purpose go and saps the mind,
till purpose, mind and man are all undone"

Subsequently he read and memorized the Gita in its Gujarati and Sanskrit versions. It became his *"infallible guide of conduct"*, his *"dictionary of daily reference"* and *"the book par excellence for the knowledge of Truth"* It taught him the vital truths that the soul is immortal, that death is not an end but a new beginning, and that when confronted with untruth and injustice, one's bounden duty was to confront it. His first acquaintance with the Bible and Christ's *'Sermon on the Mount'* was also in London. The latter became a vital input in his adoption of non-violence as the other pillar of his Truth based Satyagraha strategy.

Tolstoy's *'The Kingdom of God is within you'*, which he read in Durban in 1894 *'overwhelmed'* and *"left an abiding impression"* on him. He read Ruskin's *'Unto this Last'* while on a train journey from Johannesburg to Durban in 1904. In his Autobiography he writes that it *"brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life. I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin"*. He was so impacted by it that he translated it into Gujarati and titled it *'Sarvodaya'*, (the welfare of all). This became the beacon of his economic and social programmes.

'Satyagraha' was born soon after the historic September 11, 1906 mass meeting at the Imperial Theatre in Johannesberg, which Gandhi had convened and at which, according to Louis Fischer, he showed *"awesome, Himalayan self assurance"*. Following the collective vow participants at this meeting took, he offered a prize for an appropriate name for the new non-violent struggle they had decided upon. A cousin, Maganlal Gandhi suggested *"Sadagraha"* (firmness in a good cause). Gandhi amended it to *"Satyagraha"* (firm adherence to Truth). Louis Fischer annotates it thus *"For Gandhi, Satyagraha was "the vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self". That requires self control. The weapons of the Satyagrahi are within him. Satyagraha is peaceful. If words fail to convince the adversary perhaps purity, humility and honesty will. The opponent must be "weaned from error by patience and sympathy", weaned not crushed, converted not annihilated...You cannot inject new ideas into a man's head by chopping it off; neither will you infuse a new spirit into his heart by piercing it with a dagger"*.



"It is any day better to stand erect with a broken and bandaged head than to crawl on one's belly in order to save one's head"

By the time Satyagraha was born, Gandhi had given up his smart legal office and residence and moved with his family to 'Phoenix Settlement', committed all his wealth and professional earnings to a community fund to sustain Satyagrahi families and allowed his insurance policy to lapse as *"God would take care of the family."* He had also taken a vow of sexual abstinence. The solid foundation for his outstanding leadership had now been firmly laid and it was in Apartheid South Africa, *"that God forsaken country where I found my God"*, that this happened.

It was in July 1907 that Gandhi launched his first Satyagraha. It was against the Asian Registration Act, which for South African Indians was the *"Black Act"*. Led by Gandhi they decided to resist it by refusing to register. General Smuts, the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, tricked Gandhi into a compromise whereby Indians would voluntarily register and thereafter the Act would be repealed. When the latter did not happen, Gandhi and his fellow Satyagrahis publicly burned their passes in front of the Haminia Mosque in Johannesberg and were imprisoned for it. On his release he set up 'Tolstoy Farm' outside Johannesberg to accommodate Satyagrahi families.

Henry David Thoreaus' *'Civil Disobedience'* Gandhi read when he was in the Volksrust Prison in October 1908. The book was in the prison library. Gandhi found it a *"masterful treatise"*. He was greatly impacted by Thoreau's comment about his imprisonment *"I did not feel for a moment confined and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar.....As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body"* . However, as he wrote in a letter to Kodanda Rao of the Servants of

India Society *"The statement that I derived my idea of Civil Disobedience from the writings of Thoreau is wrong. The resistance to authority in South Africa was well advanced before I read Thoreau's essay. But the movement was then known as passive resistance. As it was incomplete I had coined the word Satyagraha for Gujarati readers"*

In September 1913, in protest against a Transvaal Supreme Court decision that Hindu, Muslim and Parsee marriages would not be recognized as valid, Gandhi led a march of over 2000 Satyagrahis into the Transvaal. Simultaneously Indian indentured workers in the Newcastle coal fields went on strike. With this Smuts capitulated. The 1914 Smuts - Gandhi agreement and the subsequent Indians Relief Act of June 1914 redressed many South African Indian hardships, recognized Hindu, Moslem and Parsi marriages and abolished the hated Pound 3 annual tax on non contractual Indian labourers . Gandhi described it as the *'Magna Carta'* of Indians in South Africa. It was his first major leadership achievement.

In 1918, fifteen years after the Pietermaritzberg episode, he wrote *"We are regarded as a cowardly people"* and recommended Satyagraha as a technique to transform Indians, just as it had transformed him, from extreme timidity to fearlessness. For him non-violence is *"the weapon of the really brave"* and *"He who fears, fails"*. As the armour of the non-violent warrior is his unshakable faith in God, he has, nothing to fear not even death for even death can be victory. *"They may torture my body, break my bones, even kill me but then they will have my dead body, not my obedience"*

Among his other notable affirmations on fearlessness are:

"Fear and Truth are mutually contradictory terms".

"Being a slave to fear is the worst form of slavery"

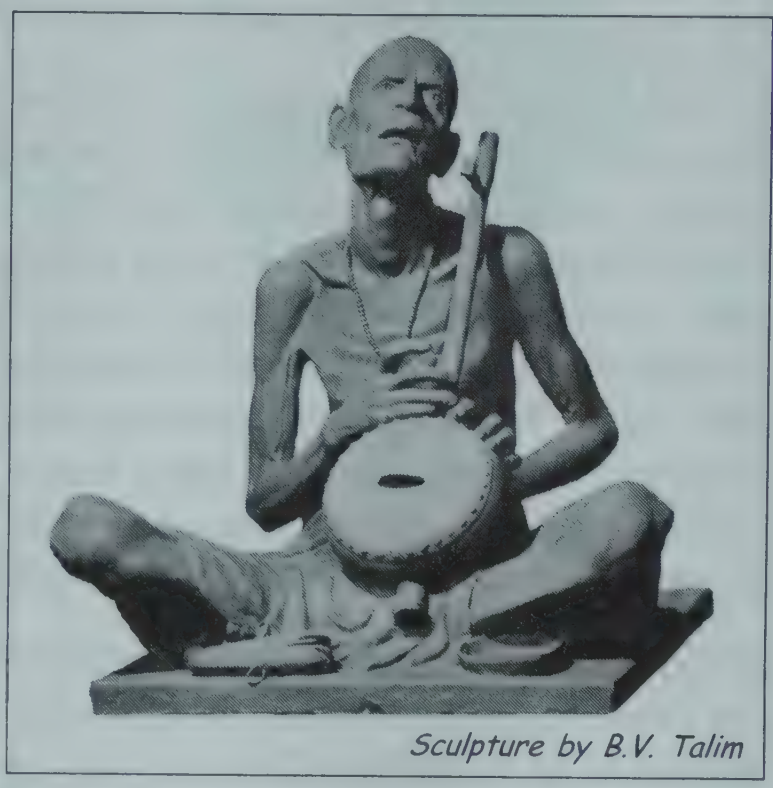
"The golden rule is to act fearlessly upon what one believes to be right"

"The greatest help you can give me is to banish fear from your hearts"

"You do not know what a coward I was when I was young. I am not quite a coward today. Multiply my example and you will have one whole nation shaking off its cowardice"

C : Compassion, dedication and determination:

Gandhi's compassion is clearly seen in his constant focus on the oppressed and impoverished. He identified himself and empathized with them, dressed like them and after 1917 even lived like them in a mud hut, though brought up in comparitive luxury in his youth and held a British legal degree. *"I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice"* he affirmed.



Sculpture by B.V. Talim

In his long letter to the Viceroy Lord Irwin prior to the Salt March he wrote *"Why do I regard the British rule as a curse? Because it has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinous, expensive military and civil administration which the country cannot afford".* References to the *"impoverished dumb millions"* were numerous and frequent in his speeches and writings. His emphasis on Khadi was primarily for their benefit. *"Khadi means employment for the poor and freedom for India. Britain holds India because it is a fine market for Lancashire...."*

His compassion is also testified by the *"talisman"* he gave to India's nationalists *"Whenever you are in doubt, try the following expedient. Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you have seen and ask yourself whether the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he be able to gain anything by it? Will it restore to him control over his own life and destiny? In other words will it lead to self rule for the hungry and spiritually starved millions of our countrymen?"*

However, the best testimony of his compassion is his walking barefoot on his visit to Naahkali in August 1947. When his grand daughter Manu protested he replied *"We do not go to our temples, mosques or churches with shoes on... We now tread on that holy ground where people have lost their loved ones... How can I wear chappals there?".*

Gandhi's possessions

Gandhi's dedication, particularly to India's unity and prevention of its partition is testified by his fourteen meetings with Jinnah in September 1944 during which he even offered him the Prime Minister's office but to no avail. He humbled himself to go to Jinnah's residence at 10 Mount Pleasant Road, Mumbai for all these fourteen meetings even though his domestic and international stature was higher than Jinnah's.

When Gandhi was assassinated in January 1948 his only earthly possessions were two sets of wrap around cotton cloths, a wrist watch, his spectacles, three sacred books, two wooden food bowls and spoons, two pairs of wooden sandals and a walking stick! This is dedication and self abnegation par excellence.

The firmness of Gandhi's determination is seen in his promptly calling off his March 1919 Satyagraha when incidents of violence occurred. In calling it off he declared *"I had called on the people to launch upon civil disobedience before they had qualified themselves for it and this mistake seemed to me of Himalayan magnitude".*

Commenting on this Vincent Sheean wrote *"No act of his life was more bewildering to the Indian masses than Gandhi's abandonment of*

Satyagraha at this moment. It took a long time for Indians in general, Hindus as well as Moslems, to understand that the frail little man meant what he said, that he had a will of iron, and that no power on earth could induce him to pursue an action if he felt that it violated his principles"

His determination is also seen in his historic *"fast unto death"* in September 1932 over the British grant of a separate electorate for *"untouchables"*. He saw this as a nefarious device to split the Hindu fold and perpetuate untouchability. He gave up the fast only when Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, the untouchable leader, agreed he would accept Gandhi's assurances of equitable treatment for his community and not avail of the separate electorate. The Poona Pact of September 25, 1932, embodied these assurances and is a good indication of Gandhi's *"victory for both sides"* approach. In return for giving up the separate electorate, Ambedkar secured an increase of *"untouchable"* reserved seats from the 71 the British had offered, to 149! About the Poona Pact Rajmohan Gandhi writes *"From behind bars, a prisoner had jolted a nation's customs and imposed his will on an empire...The world seemed to marvel and a writer in the Boston Globe said that 'the debt Gandhi undertakes to settle is the debt of the human conscience to other human consciences"*

Gandhi's compassion, dedication and determination are all embodied in his visit to Calcutta to stem the communal killings there rather than be in New Delhi to participate in the Independence Day celebrations in New Delhi on August 15th, 1947. *"The interior voice tells me to go on fighting against the whole world, even though I am alone."* His favourite hymn during all such periods of crisis was Tagore's *'Ekla Chalo Re'*, which in English translation reads as under:

"If no one listens to your call, walk alone
If in fear, they cower mutely facing the wall,
O hapless one, open your mind and speak out alone"

James K.Mathews commends Gandhi's determination thus *"In great part his secret of leadership was in his strength of purpose. He was ever and ever restating it so that it might be clear to himself and to his associates."*

D. Communication skills

Gandhi's communication skills were initially honed by his letter writing to South African and British authorities and newspapers. In 1904 he started his first newpaper 'Indian Opinion' in South Africa and subsequently in India 'Young India' and 'Harijan' (both in English) and Navjeevan (in Gujarati). In all these he wrote extensively on various current issues so as to keep all concerned, including his opponents, well informed of his ideas, programmes and plans.

His remarkable booklet 'Hind Swaraj', a manifesto for India's independence, was written in just ten days between November 13 -22, 1909 on board the ship 'Kildoman Castle' while returning to South Africa after a fruitless lobbying mission to London. It was written entirely on the ship's stationery and according to some sources *"when the right hand got tired he continued with the left;"* writing 40 of the 275 manuscript pages thus. It was as if Divine revelation was impelling him to write as it was being imparted to him. Antony Parel writes *"Hind Swaraj is the seed from which the tree of Gandhian thought has grown to its full stature.... For those who wish to study his thought more methodically it remains the norm by which to assess the theoretical significance of his other writings, including the autobiography.... It has been compared to such diverse works as Rousseau's Social Contract (Heard 1938,450) and the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola".* However, his Autobiography sub titled 'The Story of my Experiments with Truth', published in 1927, is the most communicative of all his writings and frankly reveals details of his upbringing, youthful foibles, early marriage, strong sexual drive and efforts to sublimate it, and the spiritual and literary influences that shaped the evolution of his personality.

His other means of communication were his Satyagrahas, Padayatras, fasts and prayer meetings. Of these his Chamaparan, Kheda, Bardoli and 'Quit India' Satyagrahas, Transvaal & Dandi padayatras and 1932 and 1947 fasts were the most impactful.

His historic Salt padayatra (march) and his publicly breaking the salt law was a communications masterpiece. News about it was carried in over

Gandhi on the Salt March

1000 newspapers worldwide. The New York Times editorialized that whereas Britian had lost America on tea, it was losing India on salt! TIME magazine put him on the front cover of their January 4, 1931 issue as their 'Man of the Year'.

Each of his fasts kept all of India as also the British on tenterhooks. About his 1932 fast Fischer wrote *"The day before the fast started, twelve temples in Allahabad were made accessible to Harijans for the first time....Every subsequent day until Septemebr 26th and then every day from September 27th to October 2nd Gandhi's birthday, which was Anti-Untouchability week, scores of holy places lowered the bars against Harijans....Gandhi's fast touched Hindu India's heart. Gandhi had an artist's genius for reaching the heart strings of the inner man...Gandhi's fasts were means of communication. The news of the fast was printed in all papers. Those who read told those who did not read. The cities knew and the peasants marketing in the cities knew and they carried the report to the villages..."*

After his August 1947 Calcutta fast succeeded in ending the communal riots there Lord Mountbatten wrote to compliment him. " *In the Punjab we have 55,000 soldiers and large scale rioting on our hands. In Bengal our forces consist of one man and there is no rioting. May I be allowed to pay my tribute to the one man boundary force".* The historian E.W.R. Lumby wrote *"His triumph was complete and the peace that he brought was destined to endure....He had in fact worked a miracle, perhaps the greatest of modern times"*

His prayer meetings were generally held in his ashrams, but sometimes also in public places. On the latter occasions they were attended by thousands. His February 3rd, 1946 prayer meeting in Calcutta is estimated to have attracted over half a million people. As each of his prayer meetings would be followed by comments on topical issues they carried his message to millions of people in India and abroad.

Nehru described Gandhi's impact thus:*"His voice was somehow different from the others. It was quiet and low and yet it could be heard above the shouting of the multitude; it was soft and gentle and yet there seemed to be steel hidden away somewhere in it... We did not quite know what to make of it but we were thrilled."*

In his 1995 Gandhi Peace Foundation Lecture the eminent columnist Nikhil Chakravarthy focused on the importance Gandhi placed on the written word and how his weeklies 'Indian Opinion', 'Young India' and 'Harijan' came out regularly (the Harijan came out in 12 editions and 9 different languages) despite all his other activities and imprisonments. He averred *"As a communicator Gandhiji was aware of the need to take into account the level of awareness of his target reader or listener.... By the correct standards of a communicator, Gandhi chose the form of struggle, the target and even the language of every campaign in keeping with the level of consciousness of the common people".*

Gandhi's communication skills transformed India's freedom struggle from one waged by a small, elite, urban group into a mass movement in which millions of Indians, from every strata of society, enthusiastically participated. It was the largest, *"Peoples Power"* struggle in history.

E. Organizational skills and charisma.

Gandhi's organizational skills are best seen in the manner in which he refashioned the structure of Indian National Congress between 1915 and 1930. When he joined, it had many weaknesses. Its proceedings were conducted in English even though less than 1% of India's then population of 250 million people spoke it. It was predominantly Hindu, Brahmin and high caste. Its membership was largely from the big cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It lacked effective executive machinery.

His first move was to set up an ashram at Kochrab village in Gujarat. With this his operational base was firmly planted in rural India and close to the peasants. When cholera struck this area some months later, the ashram was moved to Sabarmathi village, close to Ahmedabad. Both these ashrams, like his Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm in South Africa, were centers for training in community living and non-violence as *"Training is as necessary for civil disobedience as for armed revolt".*

He next dethroned English by insisting Indian languages be used for work at provincial levels. At the first Gujarat political meeting in November 1917 he ruled that all speeches should be in Gujarati. Everyone including Jinnah conformed, only Tilak spoke in Marathi. However none spoke in English.

He then brought in leaders from *"new areas"* like Gujarat, United Provinces (so called because it combined North West Frontier Province and Oudh with Allahabad as capital) and Bihar. Among these were Vallabhai Patel, Mahadev Desai, Rajendra Prasad, Vinobha Bhave, Jay Prakash Narayan, J.B.Kriplani, C.Rajagopalchari and most importantly Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru. A few years later came the remarkable Khan Abdul Gaffar.

Commenting on these leaders joining the Congress, Antony Copley writes *" Gandhi's moral influence on these followers was astonishing. They were all men who might have pursued successful professional or administrative careers. Most striking may be was the conversion of Motilal Nehru, a highly westernized lawyer, who proved ready to throw over the habits of a life time, join his son Jawaharlal in the wearing of Khadi and accept Gandhi's policy of non-cooperation."* About Motilal Nehru succumbing to

Gandhi's charisma, Martin Green writes *"Motilal drove to the law courts with liveried servants behind a fine pair of horses and lived in a house called Anand Bhavan, equipped with modern English comforts including wines and cigars....When Motilal followed Jawaharlal into Gandhi's camp, everything in his life style had to change - cars, clothes, food, drink - from Englishness to Indianness, from modernity to tradition, from slendour to simplicity. The Anand Bhavan bonfire of foreign cloth must have been one of the biggest and most sacrificial."*

Gandhi's incredible achievement in inducing these men, and subsequently many other such people from India and abroad, to join him is ample proof of his incredible charisma.

The 1919 Rowlatt Act, which gave the govt. powers of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, provided Gandhi with a good opening to launch his first satyagraha in India and extend the Congress membership base A Satyagraha Sabha Association was set up in Bombay on February 24, 1919 at which it was decided to firmly resist this *"Black Act"* and court arrest. By mid March over 800 people had enrolled as satyagrahis for this resistance and pledged their willingness to undergo imprisonment and other hardships this might entail. On April 7th, Gandhi launched his 'Satyagraha' by open sale of his 'Hind Swaraj' and other banned literature. When he was arrested riots broke out in Ahmedabad and other places. On April 13, occurred the brutal massacre of 379 men, women and children at Amritsar's Jallianwala Bagh. The dynamic leadership Gandhi provided in its aftermath propelled him to national prominence and respect. Nehru describes his impact thus *"This programme (Satyagraha) was a totally different thing from what the Congress had so far been doing; indeed it was quite a novel thing for the world, for the Satyagraha in South Africa had been very limited in its scope.... The old and experienced Congress leaders hesitated and were filled with doubt. But there was no doubting the temper of the average Congressman or the man in the street or the masses. Gandhi carried them off their feet, almost hypnotized them"*

At the 1920 Nagpur Congress session, Gandhi's proposal to create a standing 15 member Working Committee was approved, It was to be elected by an all India Congress Committee of 350, which in turn would be

elected by provincial committees elected by district and taluk committees. With this organizational structure the Congress could for the first time justifiably claim to be an all India political organization. Separately other national bodies such as the All India Spinners Association and the All India Village Industries Association were also set up.

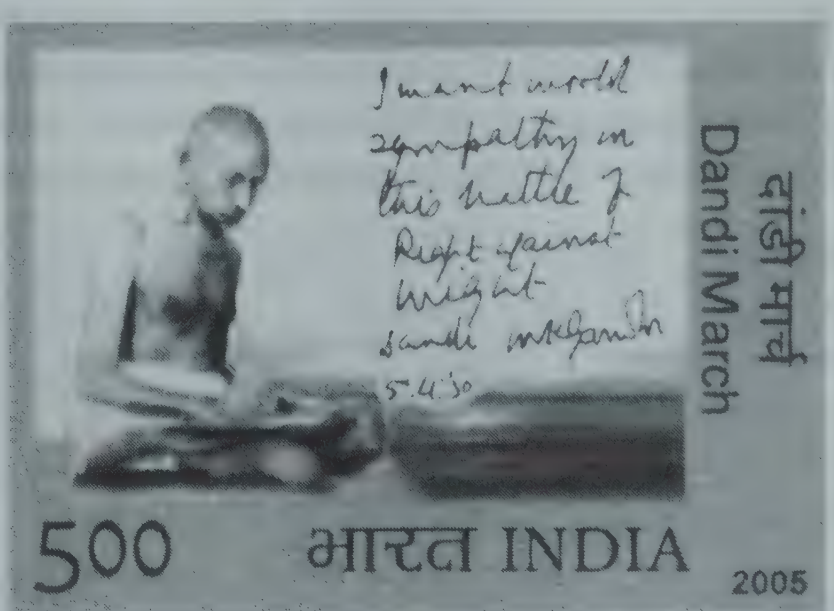
During his struggle against racial oppression in South Africa many of Gandhi's staunch supporters were Muslims. In the Congress there were few of them. He therefore decided to remedy this and attended the 1917 Muslim League session in Calcutta. At this time there was much concern about the fate of Ottoman Turkey and particularly about its Emperor Caliph's continued control of Islam's Holy places. There was threatening talk of *"Direct action"*. In 1919, the Indian Khilafat Committee approached Gandhi for his advice and assistance. He saw this as a good opportunity to woo the Muslims. He agreed to support the Khilafat agitation and managed to secure the approval, though reluctant, of the Congress. For about 18 months from October 1920 to March 1922 Gandhi led the combined struggle for Swaraj and the revision of the Treaty of Sevres imposed by Britain and France on Turkey. During this period there was close unity between Hindus and Moslems. B.R.Nanda indicates Gandhi's principal aims in supporting the Khilafat movement : *"to prevent it from turning violent and to draw the Muslim community into the orbit of the national movement"* and adds that he achieved *"a great measure of success in his first aim but not in the second. The 'grand alliance' between the Congress and the Khilafat Organizations did not mature into a permanent Hindu- Muslim accord."* However, Gandhi's decision to support the Khilafat agitation is clear proof of his all inclusive approach and keen desire to secure Hindu-Muslim unity. Had the 'grand alliance' he had hoped for been achieved, it would have prevented the partition of India as Jinnah would not have had a separatist Muslim constituency to mobilize and lead.

The non cooperation and civil disobedience movements of the 1920s and the Champaran, Kheda and Bardoli satyagrahas transformed the Congress from the essentially elite, urban debating society it had been until 1915, into a well structured, disciplined and mass based national political party and freedom movement by 1925. Its leadership came from all parts of

the country including small towns. Its basic objective had also been transformed from securing dominion status to achieving *"Swaraj"* (independence). All this was primarily Gandhi's contribution. Patrick French writes *"Gandhi diverted Congress away from its upper class Brahmin base and from the use of English, a language understood by only a tiny minority of the population....If 1919 was the year of the boycott of British made goods, 1920 marked the moment of quiet revolution. Shops, schools and colleges were boycotted and bonfires were made of imported foreign cloth. Jail going became a symbol of pride rather than of shame. Within a remarkably short time Gandhi had become the undisputed King of Congress, having generated a mass popular following and sidelined traditional politicians."*

F. Strategizing skills

Good leadership also requires excellent strategizing. Gandhi proved a genius at it. By combining Truth, non-violence and self suffering he fashioned his innovative Satyagraha strategy. It was first used in 1907 to oppose the *"Black Act"* (Asian Registration Act) in South Africa but its initial conceptualization has been traced to 1906. It literally means 'firmly adhering to Truth' but is generally taken to mean 'Truth Force', 'Soul Force' or 'Love Force'. It is not Christ like passive resistance but active non-violent resistance to evil and injustice. *"Passive resistance has been regarded as a weapon of the weak. That is why the name 'Satyagraha' was coined in South Africa to distinguish the movement there from passive resistance..... Non-Violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest"* he affirmed, and added: *"This force (satyagraha) is to violence and therefore to all tyranny and injustice, what light*



Courtesy: Indian Post and Telegraph Department

is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim, that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed" .

Erik Erikson, Krishanlal Sridharani and Richard Gregg have described Satyagraha as *"militant non-violence", "war without violence"* and *"moral jiujitsu"* respectively. About Gandhi's militancy Mark Jugensmeyer has written *"Gandhi was a fighter. Whatever else one might say about him - that he was a saint, a clever politician, or a "seditious fakir" as Winston Churchill once put it - Gandhi certainly knew how to fight. In fact his approach to conflict resolution is one of Mohandas Gandhi's enduring legacies".*

In fashioning his Satyagraha strategy Gandhi disclaimed originating any new philosophy and affirmed he had *"simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal principles of Truth and Non-Violence to our daily life and problems .....I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills".* However Rahgavan Iyer and Antony Copley argue that Satyagraha was in fact a significant theoretical contribution. Copley writes *"Gandhi's claim that ahimsa lay at the heart of Satya was interesting and by itself unorthodox; the ancient Vedic texts, the sacred writings of early Hinduism, make no such claims for ahimsa and the concept only percolated into Hinduism through the rival faiths of Jainism and Buddhism. Gandhi was effectively arguing in a highly innovative and heretical way"* As animal sacrifices were widely prevalent in Hinduism until the advent of Jainism and Buddhism and it was the former that proscribed them and made ahimsa *"paramo dharma"* (the highest duty) Copley's assertion seems valid.

Gandhi's choice of the Charka as the prime weapon of India's national struggle is a good example of his strategizing skill. Until then, spinning was primarily a female activity and very few men, if any, had ever been involved in it. In his autobiography Gandhi reveals *" I do not remember to have seen a handloom or a spinning wheel when in 1908 I described it in Hind Swaraj as the panacea for the pauperism of India....Even in 1915 when I returned to India from South Africa I had not actually seen a spinning wheel".* By conceptualizing it as the panacea for India's economic

distress and making its use mandatory for everyone in the national struggle, he undermined Britain's economic dominance of India, and brought equality between women and men in spinning activity and more importantly between them and the untouchable, who previously was engaged only in scavenging and other despised work. *"The spinning wheel is the solace of the untouchable whom we have hitherto so sinfully despised"*. Hand spun, hand woven clothes and caps became the standard garb of Indian nationalists and foreign clothes ended up in bonfires. India's weaving industries revived and the sale of British textiles in India declined considerably. The Secretary of State for India acknowledged in the House of Commons that whereas the Great Depression had resulted in a 25% drop in British textile exports to India, their further 18% fall was due *"directly to the boycott program carried on by the Indian National Congress."* During the October 1930 - April 1931 period, when this boycott was at its height, said decline reached 84 % ! Fischer commends Gandhi's Charka strategy thus : *"Gandhi was trying to bridge brain and brawn, to unite city and town, to link rich and poor. To help the underdog you must understand him and to understand him you must at least sometimes work as he does. Spinning was an act of love, another channel of communication. It was also a method of organization. "Any single district that can be fully organized for Khaddar is, if it is also trained for suffering, ready for civil disobedience" he said"*

The Salt March is specially notable for its strategizing aspect. Judith Brown extols it as *"a superbly ingenious choice"*. Salt, a daily requisite for even the poorest individual, was abundant in the seas along India's long coast line. Yet Indians were barred from making it. Only the colonial govt. could produce and sell it. Besides, a tax levied on it annually collected Rs.60 million. Gandhi's march to Dandi with 78 of his well trained disciples was carefully planned to pass through areas well prepared for Satyagraha over several months. Hundreds joined the march enroute. By the time they reached Dandi the marchers were in the thousands. With all of them joining Gandhi in making salt, and thousands of others doing likewise in coastal towns and villages all over India, it was mass defiance of an unjust British law, and *"insurrection without arms"* as Fischer describes it.

For Frances Harper : " *Gandhi's most important contribution to the theory of non-violence was his insistence that the resisters must keep the initiative at all times. While the opponent must be given ample opportunity to consider the proposals, he must not be allowed to ignore them. Gandhi fully understood that half the battle, indeed often the most difficult part of it, is to convince the opponent that he must deal with the resisters*"

Copley writes "*The confrontation and eventual agreement between Viceroy Irwin and Gandhi is a high point in the history of Gandhian Satyagraha*"

Rajmohan Gandhi quotes George Woodcock thus "*In his superb sense of timing, in his quick intuitive grasp of the balance of forces, in his instinct for effective symbolic action and in his grasp of the strategy of struggle, Gandhi was one of the most able politicians of his time*"

G. Management skills

The prime management elements in Gandhi's satyagrahas, padayatras, fasts, prayer meetings and negotiations with political rivals and the British rulers were transparency, methodical and humane approach, and insistence on ethical means to achieve the desired objectives.

His completely transparent approach emanated from his dedication to Truth. He affirmed :

"*Secrecy aims at building a wall of protection around you. Ahimsa disdains all such protection. It functions in the open in the face of odds, the heaviest conceivable. We have to organize for action a vast people that have been crushed under the heel of unspeakable tyranny for centuries. They cannot be organized by other than open, truthful means.*"

In all Gandhi's satyagraha and padayatra campaigns a basic set of rules was followed : clearly identify the issue on which the struggle would be launched, highlight its "*Truth*" to the opponent and request negotiations, keep the opponent and newsmedia fully informed of the campaign's objectives and plans; instruct, inspire, train and lead the non-violent warriors, fund raise and economize maximally so as to sustain the

campaign as long as necessary and make suitable arrangements for the care of those who would be injured or arrested as well as for their families. When the opponent finally agrees to negotiate make a mutually acceptable agreement and adhere to it faithfully. For him *"The objective of all non-violent struggle is to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement and never the defeat, much less the humiliation of the opponent."*

The best example of his transparent approach is his letter to Viceroy Lord Irwin before undertaking his Salt Satyagraha. In it, after listing the manifold injustices meted out to the Indian people, he wrote : *"If you cannot see your way to deal with these evils, and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the eleventh of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the Salt Tax. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's stand point...This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but is a simple and sacred duty, peremptory on a civil resister"*

His methodical approach is best seen in the Champaran satyagraha. undertaken in April 1917 on the pleading of an unknown, illiterate indigo peasant it was his first major leadership test in India and established the efficacy of his satyagraha strategy.

Having decided to go to Champaran, he went there by way of Muzzafarpur so as to get accurate information about indigo cultivation from Prof. J.B. Kripalani of the Arts College there. He then proceeded to Champran and called on the Secretary of the British landlords association. His request for information on the landlords' demands on the peasants was rebuffed. He then requested a call on the Tirhut Divisional Commissioner. He refused to meet him and ordered him to leave that area immediately. Gandhi disobeyed this order and proceeded to Motihari, capital of Champaran Dt. At the railway station, where a vast multitude awaited him, he was ordered to leave that district. He received the order and inscribed thereon he was disobeying it. The next day he received summons to appear in court, whereupon, he telegraphed Rajendra Prasad at Patna to come to Motihari with some Indian lawyers and sent a telegram to the Viceroy.

When Gandhi appeared in court thousands of peasants had gathered around it. In the court were Indian lawyers and journalists. Gandhi pleaded guilty and was ordered released on bail until sentence was pronounced. He refused to pay the bail. The magistrate saw no option but to waive it. Some days later, the Lt. Governor of Bihar ordered that this case be dropped.

Gandhi then undertook a wide ranging public enquiry into the peasants grievances. Rajendra Prasad and his lawyer friends assisted in this. Almost ten thousand depositions were taken and relevant documents painstakingly collected. Thereafter he called on Lt. Governor Sir Edward Gait and induced him to set up an Enquiry Commission. This comprised govt. officials, landlords and Gandhi representing the peasants. The evidence he presented was so incriminating the landlords had little option but to agree to compensate the peasants. Not wanting to humiliate and embitter them, Gandhi demanded only 50% of the amounts unjustly exacted from the peasants, but finally settled for only 25%. Subsequent events justified his generous approach. A few years later the landlords transferred their estates to the peasants and left India.

Soon after securing the amicable settlement from the landlords, he got down to organizing educational, health and sanitation facilities for the peasants. His wife Kasturba, son Devadas and secretaries Mahadev Desai and Narahari Parikh came to Champaran and took turns in managing these facilities during the initial period.

Originally planned as a seven day visit, his stay at Champaran ultimately lasted seven months. With his subsequent visits there, it took almost a whole year of his life. It is clear proof that even in dealing with local issues he had the bigger picture in mind viz India's liberation not only from the British but from all oppression - of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, illhealth, uncleanliness and fear. Unlike the militant nationalists who directed their fire solely at the victimizers, Gandhi focused also on the victims and sought to enable them to boldly stand up against all oppression whether external or social.

For Gandhi, the means adopted were as important as the end itself. "*The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree. There is the same*

inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree... A Satyagrahi's first concern is not the effect of his action. It must always be its propriety. He must have faith enough in his cause and his means and know that success will be achieved in the end. " Adoption of vile and violent means only results in more of the same, vitiates the desired objectives and brutalizes human nature. In this respect he was quite different from most modern leaders for whom revolution, pragmatism and effective firepower have been the prefered means to achieve their ends.

Aldous Huxley concurs with Gandhi about the "*inviolable connection between the means and the end*". He writes "*The end cannot justify the means for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced*". He gives instances from the French Revolution, where the demagogic and brutal means adopted by its leaders recoiled on them, destroyed the republic, gestated military dictatorship and then an emperor who embroiled France in twenty years of continuous wars which killed over three million people.

Commenting on Gandhi's view on means and ends Copley names Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse Tung and Gandhi as the four most influential social and political thinkers of the twentieth century and adds "*Yet Gandhi is very much the odd man out in such company: it would be more accurate to see him as their antagonist than as a fellow thinker.....Theirs (Marx, Lenin, Mao) was an unscrupulous, ruthless, Machiavellian acceptance that the ends justify the means; a tolerance of the brutishness and violence of power politics. Gandhi possessed an acute moral awareness that means would colour the ends and that only just, non-violent means would lead to a just and harmonious society. It is that optimism and that endlessly argued idea which probably make Gandhi so attractive and so relevant a figure to the world of today*"

By empathizing with the masses, praying, working and living with them, selecting simple issues like cotton and salt which they understood Gandhi managed to inspire and enthuse them; convince them that Truth, non-violence and the spinning wheel were effective weapons for India's political, economic and social emancipation, that a mere 100,000 Englishmen in India could not rule its 350 million people if the latter refused their

cooperation and were willing to suffer the consequences; that all Indians, men and women, rich and poor, high caste, low caste and untouchable, had a vital role to play in the liberation of India and all subject peoples. Concurrently, he also managed to train, plan, fund raise, finance, lead and effectively control vast groups of people with disparate interests and backgrounds. Millions responded to his call; they spun cotton, they burnt foreign cloth, they submitted to beatings and imprisonment and stolidly refrained from violence. This was the most amazing transformation of a sub continent, long gripped with lethargy, fear and despair, into a landmass throbbing with vigour and patriotic fervour, with disparate ethnic, religious, cultural and social interests brought together, imbued with common purpose, all ready to die for the cause but never to kill. It certainly was the greatest management achievement of the twentieth century. Suzanne and Lloyd Rudolph wrote *"Gandhi evoked in himself and those who "heard" him, responses that transcended the routine of ordinary life, producing extraordinary events and effects on character, which metaphorically can be described as "magical".*

H. Magnanimity.

Gandhi's magnanimity is best seen in his forgiveness of those who hated, reviled and attacked him. On four separate occasions he was attacked - in Durban in January 1897, in Johannesberg in January 1908, in Pune in June 1933 and in New Delhi on January 22, 1948 (when a bomb exploded at his prayer meeting). In every case he forgave his attackers and insisted they should not be prosecuted. His statement after the arrest of the Pathans involved in the Johannesberg attack, was typical ; *"They should be released. They thought they were doing right and I have no desire to prosecute them"*

Among his greatest political enemies and revilers were Ambedkar, Churchill and Jinnah. The former castigated him as *"the most dishonest politician in Indian history...with pernicious saintly idiosyncracies"* ; the latter contemptuously described him a *"a half naked and seditious fakir"* and *"an old humbug"*. Yet Gandhi spoke of them thus :

" I have the highest regard for Dr. Ambedkar. He has every right to be bitter. That he does not break our heads is an act of self restraint on

his part.....The same thing happened to me in my early days in South Africa where I was hounded out by the Europeans wherever I went. It is quite natural for him to vent his wrath".

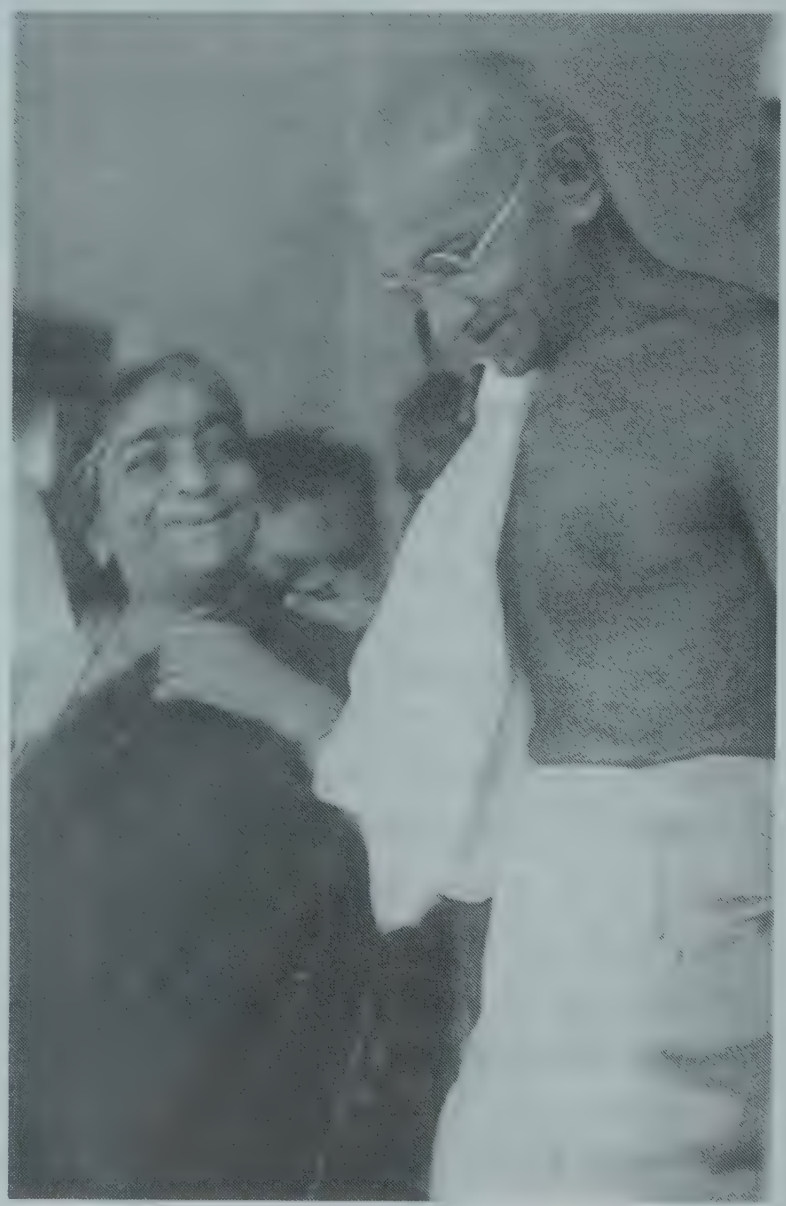
"Mr. Churchill is a great man. He belongs to the blue blood of England. The Marlborough family is very famous in British history. He took the helm when Great Britain was in great danger.... No doubt he saved the British Empire from a great danger at that time.....(However) Mr Churchill has been too hasty in his sweeping generalization. India's population is several millions. Of these only a few have taken the path of barbarism."

Meeting the press after the breakdown of his 14 long sessions of talks with Jinnah in 1944 he said *"We have parted as friends. These days have not been wasted. I am convinced that Mr. Jinnah is a good man. I hope we shall meet again. I am a man of prayer and I shall pray for understanding".*

I. Self assurance

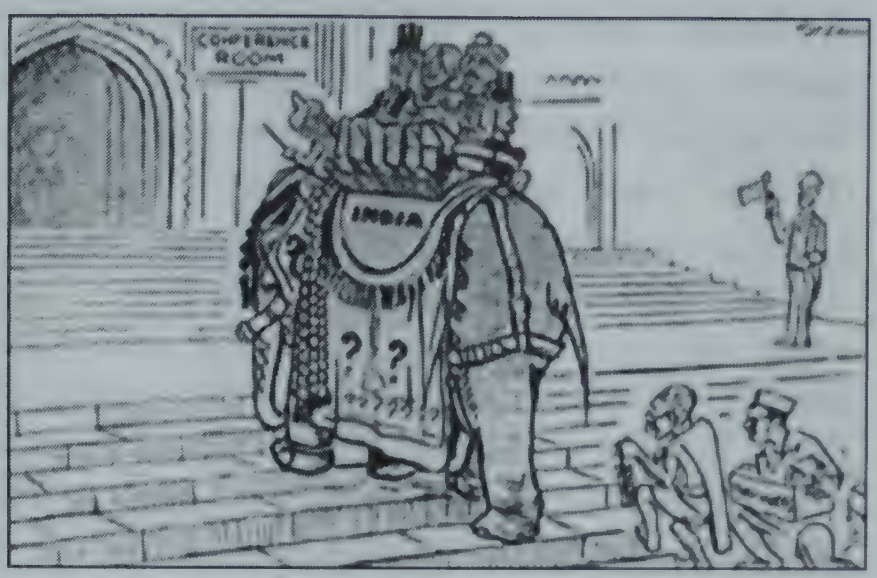
Gandhi, like Abraham Lincoln, was well endowed with self assurance, composure and humour. It enabled them to remain unruffled even when false accusations and ridicule were hurled at them. When a political opponent accused Lincoln of being *"two faced"* he smilingly responded *"If I was two faced would I be wearing this one?"* .

When the young Sarojini Naidu went to meet Gandhi in London (he was enroute to India in 1915) she found him seated on the floor, on a black prison blanket, having his dinner of crushed tomatoes and olive oil from a wooden bowl with battered tins of peanuts and biscuits around him. She burst out laughing and exclaimed he looked more like Mickey Mouse than the great Indian hero of South Africa. He laughed too and responded *"You must be Sarojini Naidu. Who else would be so irreverent? Come in and share my meal."* This short simple piquant remark captivated her. She declined to share his "abominable mess" of a meal, but became and remained, his dedicated disciple until his assassination forty three years later, and her own death a year thereafter. It was she who coined the reverent phrase *"Father of the Nation"*.



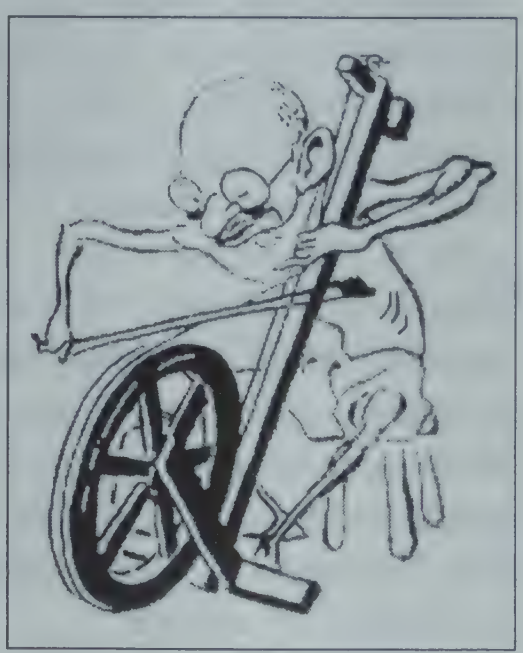
The "irreverent" Sarojini Naidu with the "Father of the Nation"

After the 2nd Round Table Conference in 1932, when



Gandhi was received by King George V, he curtly asked *"Why did you boycott my son?"* (referring to the Gandhi instigated boycott of the 1921 Prince of Wales' India visit). Gandhi promptly responded *"Not of your son, Your Majesty, but of the official representative of the British Crown"*. When leaving Buckingham Palace, journalists expressed surprise at his calling on the King dressed the way he was. He nonchalantly replied " *His Majesty was dressed enough for both of us!* " Subsequently, accosted in the vicinity of Kingsley Hall where he was staying, with *"Hey, Gandhi where's your trousers"*, he laughed heartily and replied *"You people wear plus-fours, mine are minus fours!"*

Pearl Buck commends his humour thus "Gandhi was not only a saint; he was a humorist. The two are not often in combination, but when they are the creature is invincible".



Gandhi was a great favourite of leading European and American cartoonists for almost four decades. These cartoons amused him as much as they did most others.

J. Enlightened patriotism and nationalism

Gandhi's patriotism and nationalism were broad visioned, in keeping with the ancient Indian maxim *'Udara charita nam tu vasudaiva Kudumbakam'* (for the broad minded all mankind is one family). He did not regard India as a nation in the narrow sense;it was a civilization with special spiritual qualities and a duty to serve humanity. *"I live for India's freedom and would die for it. But my patriotism is not exclusive. It is calculated to benefit all in the true sense of the word. Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so called weaker races of the world.... For me, patriotism is the same as humanity. It is not exclusive. I am patriotic because I am human and humane. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India"*

On nationalism he wrote: *"My nationalism includes the love of all nations of the earth irrespective of creed ....It is not nationalism that is evil; it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations which is evil. Each one wants to profit at the expense and rise on the ruin of the other. Indian nationalism has, I hope, struck a different path to find full self expression for the benefit and service of humanity at large"*

Gandhi's enlightened nationalism is also seen in his attitude to religions other than his own. Though a deeply devout Hindu, his approach was *'sarvadharma samabhav'* (equal respect for all religions) and a *"spiritualized humanism"*. All religions had equal status and were different paths to the same goal of achieving union with the Divine. His religion was that *"which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, binds one indissolubly to the truth within and ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which leaves the soul restless until it has found itself"*. He affirmed *"For me different religions are beautiful flowers from the same garden or branches of the same majestic tree"*. He often said he was as much a Moslem, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain and Parsee as he was Hindu and added *"The hands that serve are holier than the lips that pray"*. At his prayer meetings there were readings from all the holy books. His favorite hymn began with the line *"He alone is a true devotee of God who understands the pains and sufferings of others"*.

Gandhi's great respect for Christ and the Koran are revealed in his following statements:

"What does Jesus mean to me? To me, he was one of the greatest teachers humanity has ever had."

"Jesus was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence par excellence"

"I have read the Koran more than once. My religion enables me, obliges me, to imbibe all that is good in all the great religions of the earth. I have come to the conclusion that the teaching of the Koran is essentially in favour of non-violence. It holds that non-violence is better than violence. Non-violence is enjoined as a duty, violence is permitted only where necessary."

"Islam's distinctive contribution to India's national culture is unadulterated belief in the oneness of God and a practical application of the truth of the brotherhood of man for those within its fold. In Hinduism the spirit of brotherhood has become too much philosophized. Similarly, though philosophical Hinduism has no other God but God, it cannot be denied that practical Hinduism is not so emphatically uncompromising on this as Islam"

Gandhi's fundamental contribution in the field of religion was to give primacy to Truth rather than conformity to traditional practices. In fact he made Truth the basis of all morality by declaring : *"I reject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to reason and is in conflict with morality.....God did not create men with the badge of superiority or inferiority; no scripture which labels a human being an inferior or untouchable because of his or her birth can command our allegiance. It is denial of God and Truth which is God".*

He affirmed *"Independent India as conceived by me will have all Indians belonging to different religions, living in perfect friendship."*

In 1931 he wrote in Young India *"It has been said that Swaraj will be the rule of the majority community i.e. the Hindus....If this were to be true, I for one would refuse to call it Swaraj and would fight it with all the strength at my command, For to me Hind Swaraj is the rule of all the people and the rule of justice."*

On January 23, 1948, just a week before his assassination he declared *"It would spell the ruin of both the Hindu religion and the majority community if the latter, in the intoxication of power, entertains the belief that it can crush the minority community and establish a purely Hindu Rashtra".*

Lauding this enlightened approach Fischer wrote *"Mahatma Gandhi, a supremely devout Hindu, was incapable of discriminating against anyone on account of religion, race, caste, colour or anything. His contribution to the equality of untouchables and to the education of a new generation which was Indian instead of Hindu or Moslem or Parsee or Christian has world significance."*

K. Broad spectrum world view :

Though fully engaged in India's freedom struggle Gandhi never lost sight of the world and its travails. His world view was all inclusive and broad spectrum. Having studied in England he was well acquainted with its politics, culture and people. He had many friends there particularly among vegetarians, Theosophists and Liberals. In South Africa, where he spent 21 years, he experienced the most virulent British & Boer racism. Among his early supporters there were two Jews and a British clergyman. It was through the former he first became aware of feudal oppression in Russia. After he read Tolstoy's *'The Kingdom of God is within you'* he became more aware of the deplorable conditions of the Russian peasantry. In 1905, he wrote in 'Indian Opinion': *"The power of the Viceroy is in no way less than that of the Tsar. The difference is that the British are more efficient and less crude in their brutal oppression. As a result the Russians, in desperation, become anarchists and terrorists."*

After Gandhi's return to India his confrontation with the British Empire was far more challenging than it had been in South Africa. It required nearly all his time and energy. Yet he did not lose sight of the world.

The tragedy of Germany's Jews touched him deeply. In his paper 'Harijan', he wrote on November 11 & 26, 1938: *"My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Through*

these friends I came to know of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. ..... The German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have done. If there ever could be a justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, war against Germany to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war.....The Jews of Germany can offer Satyagraha under infinitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are a compact, homogenous community in Germany. They are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa and they have organized world opinion behind them. I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can be turned into the summer of hope....."

His great sympathy for the Jews notwithstanding, he did not approve of a separate state for them on Palestinian land. *"My sympathy does not blind me to the requirements to Justice. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they were born and bred. The Jews born and bred in France are French precisely in the same sense as the Christians born in France are French. Every country is their home, including Palestine, not by aggression but by loving service..."*

About Spain and China he wrote *"The fate of Republican Spain is hanging in the balance. So is that of China. If in the end they lose, it will not be because their cause is not just.....I suggest that, if it is brave, as it is, to die as a man fighting against all odds, it is braver still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to the usurper"*

After the 1938 Munich agreement, in which England and France conceded German take over of Czechoslovakia, he wrote with prophetic foresight " *England and France quailed before the combined violence of Germany and Italy The agreement that has been signed is a peace that is no peace. The war is only postponed".*

In July 1939 he wrote a letter to Hitler in which interalia he stated. *"It is quite clear that you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage stage. Must you pay that price for an object however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success? "*

About the heroic Polish resistance to Nazi invasion he wrote *"The Poles knew they would be crushed to atoms and yet they resisted the German hordes. That is why I call it almost non-violence"*

In early 1942, with Japan's military threat against India looming large, Gandhi wrote a letter to President Roosevelt which inter alia stated:

"Dear Friend,

I twice missed coming to your great country. I have the privilege of having numerous friends there, both known and unknown to me. Many of my countrymen have received and are still receiving higher education in America. I know too that several have taken shelter there. I have profited greatly by the writings of Thoreau and Emerson. I say this to tell you how much I am connected with your country.....My personal position is clear. I hate all war. If therefore I could persuade my countrymen, they would make a most effective contribution. Under foreign rule however we can make no effective contribution in this war, except as helots.....I have suggested that if the Allies think it necessary, they may keep their troops in India, at their own expense, not for keeping internal order, but for preventing Japanese aggression and defending China. So far as India is concerned she must become free even as America and Britain are. It is on behalf of this proposal that I write this to enlist your active sympathy"

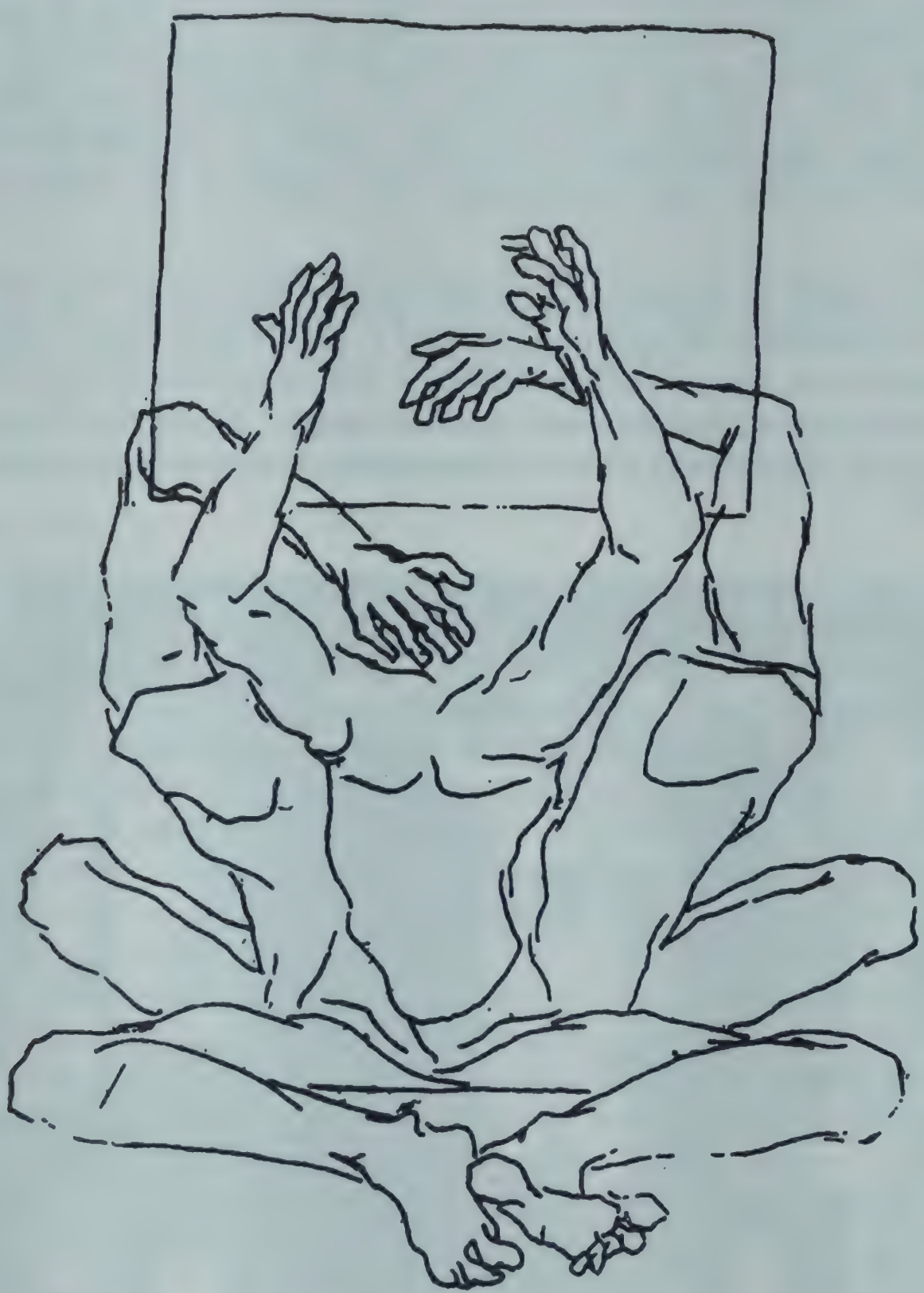
After the War and on the eve of the San Francisco Conference which created the United Nations, he issued a statement with the following paragraph in it :

"I reiterate my conviction that there will be no peace for the allies or the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud. Peace must be just. In order to be that it must neither be punitive nor vindictive. Germany and Japan

should not be humiliated. The fruits of peace must be equally shared. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars. Strong nations should be the servants of the weak not their masters or exploiters; Future peace, security and ordered progress of the world should be the responsibility of a world federation that would ensure the freedom of its constituent parts."

In March 1947, in his address to the closing session of the Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi he said : *"It will be a sorry thing if we go away from this conference without a firm determination that Asia shall live and live as free as every Western nation.... If you want to give a message to the West it must be the message of love and the message of truth"*

Gandhi with Asian Relations Conference Participants



"An eye for an eye only end up making the whole world blind"

Art work by Shamshad Hussain

Gandhi's Leadership Achievements

A. Mobilization and rejuvenation of the Indian people

The eminent psychologist Eric Erikson who analysed one of Gandhi's early 'satyagrahas - the 1918 Ahmedabad mill workers strike - wrote in his book 'Gandhi's Truth' , " *When I began this book, I did not expect to rediscover psychoanalysis in terms of truth, self suffering and non-violence; but now that I have done so I see better what I hope the reader has come to see with me, namely that I felt attracted to the Ahmedabad event, because I sensed an affinity between Gandhi's truth and the insights of modern psychology".* Erickson went on to compare the Freudian technique for renewing growth in neurotic individuals with that developed by Gandhi to restore hope to a downtrodden and dejected people. Whether or not Gandhi consciously employed a Freudian technique, the remarkable fact is that he did succeed in restoring hope to India's 350 million poverty stricken, dispirited people and to mobilize them effectively in the non-violent national struggle for independence. As early as 1912, having witnessed Gandhi's non-violent struggle in South Africa, senior Indian nationalist Gopal Krishna Gokhale declared *"Gandhi has in him the marvelous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs".*

A particularly notable success in the mobilization of the Indian people for the non-violent freedom struggle was with the warlike Pathans. Their outstanding (6'6") leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who came to be called the *"Frontier Gandhi"* and latterly has even been extolled as a *"Moslem St. Francis"* recounted Gandhi's influence on him thus *"As a young boy, I had violent tendencies; the hot blood of the Pathans was in my veins. But in jail, I had nothing to do except read the Koran. I read about the Prophet Mohammed in Mecca, about his patience, his suffering, his dedication. I had read it all before as a child, but now I read it in the light of what I was hearing all around me about Gandhiji's struggle against the British Raj....When I finally met Gandhiji, I learned all about his ideas of non-violence and his Constructive Program. They changed my life forever."*

Gandhi with "Frontier Gandhi"

Ghaffar Khan succeeded in organizing a 100,000 strong Pathan army of non-violent warriors, the 'Khudai Khidmatgars' to wage the freedom struggle in the North West Frontier Province. Inspired by him, Pathan women also participated in this struggle confronting British troops with Korans clasped to their chests.

The anthem Ghaffar Khan composed for his Khudai Kidmatgars was as under :

We are the army of God by death or wealth unmoved
We march, our leader and we, ready to die.
We serve and we love, our people and our cause,
Freedom is our goal, our lives the price we pay.

President Ronald Reagan is not considered the brightest of US Presidents, yet he made a very perceptive remark about leadership. He said *"Great leaders do not do great things themselves; they inspire their people to do great things."* Gandhi certainly met this criterion.

B. Non-violent liberation of India from colonial subjugation.

At the end of World War I, when Gandhi came into the Indian political arena, England was at the height of its power. The German, Austrian and Ottoman Empires had been defeated and destroyed. India shone brightly as *"the brightest jewel in the British Crown"* . The British empire extended all the way from Fiji in the east to Vancouver in the West. Even in November 1942 Churchill firmly refused to countenance India's independence stating he had *"not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire"*. Yet, within five years India was free and Britain left India, not as a despised colonial power but as a friend! Independent India requested its last Viceroy Lord Mountbatten to be its first Governor General. Soon thereafter it decided to join the Commonwealth as an equal partner. Gandhi's affirmation that *"a non-violent revolution is not a programme of 'seizure of power' but one of transformation of relationships ending in a peaceful transfer of power"* was amply vindicated.

Patrick French, the severest critic of Gandhi's fads and foibles, acknowledges that *"he was a political and social leader of unparalled skill and determination, without whom India would not have won independence from British rule in 1947. He was the fulcrum of the freedom movement".*

Arnold Toynbee commended Gandhi for being *"as much a benefactor of Britain as of his own country. He made it impossible for us to go on ruling India, but at the same time he made it possible for us to abdicate without rancour and without dishonour."*

Gandhi with Lord & Lady Mountbatten

C. Establishment of a strong, all inclusive political party and introduction of dignified negotiations and transparency in the political realm.

Claude Markovits writes *"Gandhi's most durable political legacy in India was the creation of a great, multi-class political party which was dominant till the early 1990s. From the late 1930s that party ceased to represent truly Gandhian ideals, but Gandhi....never openly disavowed it, making it possible for his lieutenants to use his charisma to establish their own political legitimacy..... Prior to him, negotiation with the colonizer was seen either as sheer bargaining or as a demonstration of weakness, the sign of deep inferiority complex. He imposed the idea that Indians could negotiate on equal footing with the colonial government and make concessions without necessarily being considered cowards.....In the management of the movements he directed Gandhi introduced principles of transparency unknown before. All expenses had to be justified and a balance sheet kept on a daily basis. Gandhi brought open economic calculation, a consideration of cost - benefit into the political realm."*

Gandhi at the 1931 Round Table Conference at London

D. Elimination of "Untouchability"

Gandhi's steadfast pursuit of Truth made him perceive quite early the indignity and oppression of the caste system for those below its lowest level, namely the outcastes who were generally known as the *"untouchables"* and also referred to as ati-shudras, panchamas and pariahs. These unfortunate people, who for centuries had to live outside the village limits, perform the most despised menial tasks and live on carrion, he renamed *"Harijans"* (children of God) and made their emancipation an integral element in the national struggle for independence. He explained the rationale for their new name thus " *'Harijan' means 'a man of God' All the religions of the world describe God preeminently as the Friend of the friendless, the Help of the helpless and the protector of the weak.....In India who can be more friendless, helpless and weaker than those classified as untouchables"*

Speaking at the Suppressed Classes Conference in Ahmedabad in 1920 he stated " *What crimes for which we condemn the Government as Satanic have not we been guilty of towards our untouchable brethren?....We make them crawl on their bellies; we have made them rub their noses on the ground; with eyes red with rage we push them out of railway compartments.... We have become "pariahs of the Empire" because we have created "pariahs" in our midst. The slave owner is always more hurt than the slaves... If I have to be reborn, I should be reborn an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and the affronts leveled at them in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition."*

In Young India (May 25th,1921) he wrote "*Swaraj or independence is meaningless if we continue to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection. Inhuman ourselves, we may not plead before the throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others".* Subsequently he wrote *"If it was proved to me that untouchability is an essential part of Hinduism, I would declare myself an open rebel against it."*

Gandhi regarded untouchability as an atrocious perversion of Hinduism and worked strenuously to eradicate it. When he set up his first Ashram in India, just outside Ahmedabad, he named it Harijan Ashram and admitted

a Harijan family to it. Their daughter Lakshmi he adopted as his own. Revulsed by this, some high caste Hindus terminated their financial support for the Ashram. This did not deter him.

In 1924 he traveled all the way to Vykom in Travancore state to launch satyagraha there against the denial of usage of public roads adjacent to the temple to *"untouchables"*. He exhorted the satyagrahis here thus : *"We are endeavouring to rid Hinduism of its greatest blot. The prejudice we have to fight against is an age long prejudice. This struggle is but a small skirmish in the big battle. We expect that our efforts will result in amelioration of the general condition of the untouchables in every direction"* This long drawn out satyagraha was only partially successful but impacted beneficially on high caste Hindus elsewhere and emboldened *"untouchables"* to undertake similar action in other temple towns.

In 1932 he undertook a *"fast unto death"* against the British Communal Award which granted a separate electorate for untouchables which he felt would split the Hindu fold and perpetuate untouchability. The fast was also intended to convince high caste Hindus about the *"sin of untouchability"*. Soon after this fast ended and the Poona Pact, (wherein the untouchable leader and eminent lawyer Dr. B.R. Ambedkar agreed that his community would not avail of the separate electorate) was signed, he set up the Harijan Sevak Samaj, launched the 'Harijan' weekly, and devoted the next nine months to an extensive anti-untouchability campaign tour of India.

On the eve of Independence when Nehru was forming his interim cabinet, Gandhi urged him to include Dr Ambedkar, the eminent lawyer and Harijan leader in it. When Nehru demurred on grounds that he was not a Congress Party member and had been maligning it, he sternly reminded him that power was coming *"to India, not to Congress"*. Ambedkar thus became Law Minister and Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee. This gave him ample opportunity to put his stamp on the draft constitution and include many safeguards in it for disadvantaged social groups. Most importantly, untouchability in all its forms was to be banned. However, it was the overwhelming majority of the Congress party in the Constituent Assembly and Gandhi's great moral influence on it that ensured all these measures were adopted.

Dr. Ambedkar with some Constitution Drafting Committee Members

Dhananjay Keer, who describes Ambedkar as the *"modern Manu"* writes *"An untouchable who was kicked out from carts and segregated in schools in his boyhood, insulted as a professor and ousted from hostels, hotels, saloons and temples and cursed as a British stooge..... became now the first Law Minister of a free nation and the chief architect of its constitution. It was a great achievement and a wonder in the history of India"*

Those formerly known as *"untouchables"* and subsequently as *"Harijans"* and *"dalits"*, have emerged as an important political group, with a political party of their own since the early 1980s. A dalit woman has twice been Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, India's largest state, during the 1998 - 2003 period. A brilliant dalit, with a London School of Economics degree, became India's Ambassador to Turkey, China and USA and subsequently Minister for Science and Technology, Vice President of India and President of India (1997-2002). Gandhi would have been delighted over this, but perhaps only partially. Asked by a journalist in December 1947 *"Who will be President of the Indian Republic? Should we not have Jawaharlal Nehru ?" he replied " If I have my way, the first President of the Indian Republic will be a chaste and brave Banghi girl. If an English girl of seventeen could become the British Queen and later even*

Mahatma Gandhi brought a new dimension into our lives. When he spoke of non-violence, he meant not merely the avoidance of violent action but cleansing our hearts of hatred and bitterness. He unveiled the spiritual political power of illiterate & humble human-kind and pointed out that the only programme worth preaching was that which could be translated into action. He said that every decision & programme should be judged from the viewpoint of the poorest & the weakest.

Indira Gandhi

Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi
Courtesy : Professor Ralph Bultjens

Empress of India, there is no reason why a Bhangi girl of robust love of her people and unimpeachable integrity of character should not become the first President ....."

Sadly, Gandhi's assassination within six months of India's independence and the shift of focus thereafter from his village based *"Constructive Programme"* to urban and industrial development, have left many dalits in the rural areas in their age old deplorable state, even though a large number of them have risen to high official and political positions. In some areas their condition has actually worsened as their efforts to ameliorate themselves through education and political participation have engendered anger and violence not only from upper castes but also from castes just one or two levels above them. As one sociologist put it with reference to Tamilnadu *"Formerly Dalits were excluded and suppressed. Now they are included and oppressed"*. India's economic Liberalization and privatization since 1991 has also affected them adversely since private firms are refusing to grant the employment quota reservations they have had in public sector firms.

E. Emanicipation of Indian women

Traditionally, the role of Indian women was strictly confined to the family and home. Organizations like the Women's Indian Association and National Council for Indian Women, founded in the early 1900s, did exist but consisted only of aristocratic women like the Maharanis of Baroda and Bhopal. They maintained close connections with the British and focused mainly on *"charities"*. Ordinary Indian women were almost totally absent from the public domain.

Quite early in his national struggle Gandhi declared *"As long as women do not come to public life and purify it, we are not likely to attain Swaraj. Even if we did, I would have no use for that Swaraj in which women have not made their full contribution"* He called on Indian women to join the struggle. They responded to his call. Initially they came as volunteers at Congress sessions but by the time of his non cooperation, anti foreign cloth and salt satyagrahas, thousands were active participants. The poetess Sarojini Naidu became one of his deputies. At his gentle urging women donated their jewellery, marched in processions,

picketed liquor and foreign cloth shops, sold khadi at street corners and provided sanctuary in their homes to *"satyagrahis"*. About his jewellery collections Fischer writes *"Gandhi was an incurable and irresistible fund raiser. He found special relish in stripping women of their jewellery."* He quotes Gandhi : *"I want to create in them a distaste for much ornamentation and a desire to part with their jewellery for the sake of the poor"*. Gandhi was remarkably successful in this effort considering that many Indian women are generally more attached to their jewellery than to their Husbands!

When the 1942 'Quit India' Movement was launched and Gandhi and other leaders were arrested and taken away from the Gowalia public meeting in Bombay, a brave young woman named Aruna Asaf Ali unfurled the Indian flag. Another brave woman Usha Mehta, along with three other women, set up and operated a secret *"Congress Radio from somewhere in India"* Through Gandhi's non-violent national movement, Indian women for the first time combined their roles as wives and mothers with their new roles of *"non-violent warriors"*.

When Independence came women were accorded full legal equality with men. In the first Union Cabinet the health minister was Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, a princess of Kapurthala, who in 1915 had given up royal comforts to become Gandhi's disciple. Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was India's first Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In 1953 she was elected President of the UN General Assembly. Within fifteen years thereafter, Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister of India and continued in that high office for 16 years with only an intervening two year break. Since then, numerous Indian women have risen to high positions in politics, diplomacy, business, banking, industry, biotechnology, newsmedia and other professions including aviation.

Even more importantly, women's empowerment and self help groups have sprouted in various parts of India including the rural areas. The most notable of these is SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association), based in Ahmedabad. It was established in 1972 by Mrs. Ela Bhat, a lawyer turned social activist, who was disturbed by the ruthless exploitation by unscrupulous contractors of rural women who came to the cities in search of work. SEWA strives to obtain for these women fair wages,

satisfactory working conditions, legal protection and welfare measures. In 1989 it had 29,133 members. It is now estimated to have close to 50,000 of them. Vivek Pinto writes" *What is particularly Gandhian about the heroic struggle of these women is that they have resorted to 'direct action' - engaging with and writing to employers and the police - and formed themselves into cooperatives, emphasizing non-violence, self reliance and development of financial and managerial self sufficiency.*"

These impressive gains in the status of Indian women are a direct outcome of Gandhi's non-violent national movement and his insistence on women's participation in and empowerment through it. In most European countries, as also in the US, women secured the right to vote only after many years of arduous struggle in and after the second decade of the 20th century. However, much ground still remains to be covered as Indian women have not even achieved 30% equality with men in political and other fields. In 1941 Gandhi had written "*Though Satyagraha has brought India's women out from their darkness as nothing else could have in such an incredibly short space of time, Congressmen have not yet felt the need to see that women become equal partners in the fight for Swaraj. They have not realized that woman must be the true helpmate of man in the mission of service*" . Unfortunately, this mindset still seems to prevail among India's politicians.

"Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the minutest detail in the activities of man."

Art work by Rekha Rao

F. Ending Indian feudalism

Before Independence, India was a highly feudal land of princes, colonial administrators and paupers. The princes lived in regal splendour, competing with each other in lavish entertainment of British officialdom, which actively encouraged this and indulged in much pomp and pageantry in London as well as India. Patrick French writes. *"King George V's coronation in 1911 was a spectacular propaganda coup, with myriad Indian princes and imperial prime ministers filling Westminster Abbey for the seven hour ceremony.....This was the age of high imperialism when brute force was to an extent forsaken in favour of pomp as a means of asserting authority. A giant Durbar was subsequently held in Delhi which was attended by all the Indian princes".*

Gita Mehta gives a good description of the incredibly profligate life styles of Indian princes with a princely dog "marriage" as an example. *"The marriage of the two dogs Roshanara, veiled and covered in gems, to Bobby in red silk pyjamas (to make sure he does not violate the bride before the wedding!) was conducted with all the ceremony that would have accompanied the marriage of a royal princess. A court minister solemnly read out a list of the wealth Roshanara was bringing to the marriage including a golden palanquin....At the end of the ceremony, the visiting rulers circled the dogs with gold coins and their aides placed gifts in a large basket. The strains of Mendelsohn's Wedding March were faintly audible...An enormous rectangular table for two hundred guests dominated the banquet hall for the nuptial dinner. In the center of the rectangle dancing girls sang and danced for the dogs"*

British Officials with Indian Princes

Maharaja of Benares

Gandhi's first confrontation with this pomp and spendour came in 1916 at the inauguration of Benares Hindu University. Viceroy Lord Hardinge and many Indian princes were present:, He boldly spoke thus: *"His Highness the Maharaja of Benares spoke about the poverty of India. Other speakers too laid great stress upon it. But what did we witness in this great pandal. An exhibition of jewellery which made a splendid feast for the eyes of even the greatest jeweller from Paris. I compare these richly bedecked noblemen with the millions of the poor and say to them, there is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India".*

A March 29, 1939 news report in International Herald Tribune about the marriage of the Maharaja of Indore to Marguerite Lawler, an American woman, indicated his annual income as US$ 70 million with only 1.5 million people as his subjects.

The Princes were not only flamboyant but also highly autocratic. Nehru wrote about them thus *"The Indian states represent today probably the extremest type of autocracy existing in the world.....It is really astonishing how these feudal old world enclaves have carried on with so little change right into the middle of the twentieth century."* and quoted the Maharaja of Bikaner's arrogant boast that the Indian rulers *"through centuries of heredity can claim to have inherited the instincts of rule and a certain measure of statesmanship..."*

Under Gandhi's instructions the Congress party maintained a discreet non interference policy in the affairs of the Princely states until the late 1930s (so as not to drive them closer into the arms of the British). However, the national awakening Gandhi's focus on *"the millions of the poor"* brought about gestated widespread revulsion against the princely life styles. Some rulers like the Maharajas of Baroda and Mysore were stirred by Gandhi's message and supported him. Many others however foresaw that the Gandhi led freedom struggle would mean the end of their feudal regimes and opposed it. Examples

of this were the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar who declared" *Why should I not support the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah is willing to tolerate our existence, but Mr. Nehru wants the extinction of the Princes*", and the Maharaja of Travancore whose Dewan announced on 13 June 1947 that Travancore would "*set itself up as an independent and sovereign state*". This group of princes discovered to their chagrin that the freedom upsurge in British India had also aroused their subjects many of whom strongly supported it. At this point Gandhi declared "*The princes must recognize the paramountcy of the people as they recognized the paramountcy of the British Government. Then they can freely carry on*". Vallabhai Patel, Home Minister in the Interim Government, made the same point but more emphatically and sternly. This left the Princes little option but to make virtue of necessity and gracefully signify their accession to India or Pakistan. Before August 15, 1947 all princely states within the territory of India (excluding Hyderabad) or having a common frontier with it (excluding Kashmir) acceded to it. The distinct possibility of India's balkanization because of sovereignty dreams of recalcitrant princes was thus averted. In reciprocation for their accession to India, they were compensated with privy purses, diplomatic appointments and governorships for almost thirty years.

Gita Mehta makes a good accounting of what India lost through Partition and gained through accession of the princely states."*The British Empire's partition awards lost India an area of 364,737 square miles and a population of 82 million. After the integration of the Indian kingdoms, India acquired approximately 500,000 square miles of territory and 87 million new citizens.*" About this the accession of the Princely states Vallabhai Patel averred "*The capacity for mischief and trouble on the part of the rulers....is far greater than could be imagined. Let us place ourselves in their position and then assess the value of their sacrifice*"

Indian feudalism was also entrenched in the Zamindari system, a carry over from the Moghul era. It became very oppressive after the British 'Permanent Settlement' of 1973. 60 % of all farmers in Bengal, United provinces and Bihar owned less than 8% of the land. Zamindars also known as Taluqdars, owned most of the rest. They generally were absentee landlords living in great comfort in the cities. Nehru indicates that besides their high rents for which "receipts were hardly ever given", taluqdars "*often make their tenants pay for every special expenditure - a marriage in the family, cost of the son's*

education in foreign countries, a party to the Governor or other high official, a purchase of a car or elephant"

As early as 1937 the Congress had resolved that the Zamindari system must end. However, Gandhi had stated that"*what one would love to see is proper, impartial and satisfactory understanding between the zamindars, big and small, the ryots and the government, so that when the law is passed, it may not be a dead letter nor need force be used against the zamindars or the ryots. Would that all changes, some of which must be radical, take place throughout India without bloodshed and without force"*

In 1951 the Zamindari system was abolished and all its lands, except those zamindars or their families personally cultivated were taken over and transferred to those that tilled them. The zamindars were paid non justiciable compensation. The early abolition of the Zamindari system was a major achievement but the further progress of land reform for transferring land from large to small farmers and more so to landless labourers, has been slow and patchy. Nobel laureate Amartya Sen commented on this recently adding *"My own state of West Bengal is an exception in this and has received a great deal of benefit precisely from the success of land reforms there, including a reasonably high rate agricultural economic growth".*

The bloodless ending of feudal and autocratic life styles and the zamindari system, and the smooth integration, except for two of them, of the numerous princely states into the Indian Union, is another significant outcome of Gandhi's non-violent national struggle focused on the poor and exploited peasant. It contrasts sharply with the considerable bloodshed in the American, French, Italian, German, Russian Chinese and Ethiopian Revolutions and Civil Wars before independence and national unification were achieved, and feudalism and slavery ended.

The French Guillotine

G. Revival of India's rural industries

Gandhi's choice of the 'Charka' as the prime weapon of his non-violent national struggle and his insistence that all participants in it, spin cotton and wear only hand spun, hand woven clothes initially revived the weaving and allied industries. Subsequently, there was a revival in the whole spectrum of cottage and village industries. Gandhi's disciple, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya contributed the most in bringing this about. It was she who founded the Indian Crafts Council to lobby for the welfare of craftsmen and for the revival of their crafts. For her, *"craftsmanship grew from the village community, its joys and burdens, the change of the seasons, the memories filled with song and verse legends, myths and local romances from the core and substance of their daily existence."* In 1952 she was appointed Chairperson of the All-India Handicrafts Board and in that capacity brought handicrafts into the ambit of the national economy. She set up design centers to upgrade them and motivated the Central and State Governments to open Handicrafts emporia in all major cities.

Separately, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has also rendered yeoman service in reviving, supporting, upgrading and marketing the products of Khadi and village industries. Of late it has succeeded in persuading some of India's leading designers to utilize Khadi in their fashion and furnishing creations.

Today, India's handicraft industries, located predominantly in rural areas, are providing employment to over 30 million families of spinners, weavers, embroiderers, leather, marble & metal workers, wood, bone & stone carvers, carpet and rug makers etc. India's annual exports of these items earns it over US$ 1 billion. Gandhi's maxims *"production by the masses, not mass production"* and *"The cure for unemployment is provision of employment and not a dole "* have been vindicated.

Village embroiderers

h. Harmonization of Capital Labour Relations

Some critics have accused Gandhi of focusing only on peasants and landless labour and neglecting industrial workers. This is unfair and untrue. He had great concern for the working classes and deplored the fact that *"The working classes have all these centuries been relegated to a lower status. They have been shudras and the word has been interpreted to mean an inferior status."* .

He averred *"I want no differentiation between the sons of a weaver, an agricuturist and a school master....No labour will be considered too low or too high. .....I have been saying for years labour is far superior to capital. Without labour gold, silver and copper are a useless burden. It is labour which extracts precious ore from the bowels of the earth. Labour is priceless, not gold. I want marriage between capital and labour. They can work wonders in cooperation. But that can happen only when labour is intelligent enough to cooperate with itself and then offer cooperation with capital on terms of honourable equality."*

The Triumph of Labour

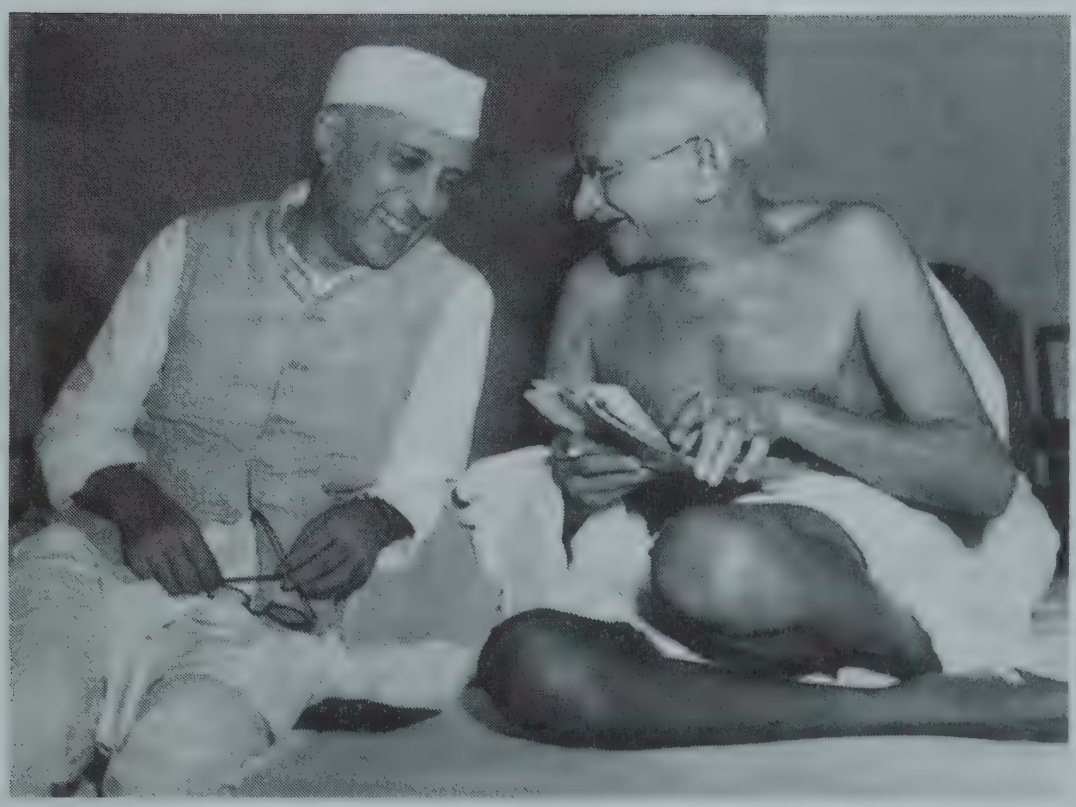
Sculptor : D P Choudhury

The practical and successful application of Gandhi's ideas on capital-labour relations is seen in the 1918 Ahmadabad Textile workers strike. The workers had struck work demanding a 50% wage increase on grounds of increased cost of living. Their employer was unwilling to offer more than 20%. It was a particularly delicate situation for Gandhi since the employer Ambalal Sarabhai was his principal supporter, while the employer's sister Ansuya was the leading protagonist of the workers. He launched a satyagraha for a 35% wage increase and went on a fast until it was granted. Out of this strike emerged the Textile Labour Association which was a federation of seven unions within the Ahmedabad textile factories. By 1939 over 25,000 workers belonging to over 60 textile mills were members of this union. It was a capital-labour organization and as Copley writes "*reflected Gandhi's deep commitment to class reconciliation and arbitration of disputes. Strikes were to be a last resort and it was committed to a Gandhian ideal of non-violence*". The motivation and objectives of the Workers and Peasants party were quite the opposite.

h. Conceptualization of India's foreign policy

India's non aligned foreign policy, which was fashioned in embryonic form during the freedom struggle, was essentially the Gandhian approach of striving for freedom and justice for subjugated peoples and engaging in non-violent conflict resolution for averting war and safeguarding peace. Its prime elements were antiracism, decolonization, anti fascism, anti-imperialism international cooperation and peace , which were in keeping with Gandhi's assertions "*Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so called weaker races of the world*" and "*There is no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across state frontiers. God never made frontiers.*"

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister was also its Foreign Minister during his entire term in office, and the architect of its foreign policy. B.R.Nanda writes "*He had been deeply influenced by a quarter century's experience in the struggle for freedom led by Gandhi. He interpreted this struggle as part of the resurgence of Asia. The fact that a predominantly non-violent movement had made it possible to liquidate imperialism in India seemed to prove that physical force was not*



Nehru with his mentor

necessarily the arbiter of the destiny of nations. Thanks to Gandhi and the grass roots experience of Indian politics, Nehru was also conscious of the inadequacy of both Western capitalism and Soviet Communism for India"

Even prior to India's independence, as Head of the Interim Government, Nehru had spoken thus in a September 7, 1946 radio broadcast. "*We propose as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world war and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in the recognition, in theory and practice, of equal opportunities for all races.*". Soon thereafter he convened the Asian Relations Conference. It opened on 23 March 1947. At it Nehru declared "*For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western Courts and Chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be play things of*

others". All these ideas strongly echoed those of Gandhi and were embodied in the 'Panch Sheel' principles formulated by Nehru in 1954. They became the core of India's foreign policy and comprised non interference in each other's internal affairs, goodwill towards all, non involvement in military alliances, judging each issue on its merits, negotiated solutions to international problems and support for the United Nations. Until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 this was the foreign policy of over 120 newly independent countries, among whom India had an influential leadership position.

Copley writes " *Gandhian style resistance to apartheid was part of the wider struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. With India being the first colonial society to acquire independence, it was inevitable that Gandhi's method should be keenly studied within the Third World and, as Nehru became increasingly important in international affairs as the moving spirit behind the Non Aligned Movement, India's example became all the more influential"*

Regarding India's decision to join the British Commonwealth S.R. Mehrotra states that it came as *"a surprise to many people in India and abroad, more so because this decision was taken by a government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru who, since the late 1920s,had been a bitter opponent of the idea of Dominion status and an ardent advocate of complete Independence for his country .....He regarded Britain as the arch-priest of imperialism"*. Fischer points out that while in London for the 2nd Round Table Conference, Gandhi was asked after a talk at the Raleigh Club in October 1932 " *How far would you cut India off from the Empire?"* He replied " *From the Empire entirely; from the British nation not at all... The Emperorship must go and I should love to be an equal partner with Britain sharing her joys and sorrows, and an equal partner with the Dominions. But it must be a partnership on equal terms....England and India should be bound by the silken cord of love"* Fischer adds *"In these statements, Gandhi described precisely and with remarkable prevision, the status which Independent India voluntarily assumed in the Commonwealth in 1948. More, the protagonists of that move used the very same argument - and almost the exact wrds - which Gandhi had used*

in London seventeen years earlier" Speaking to the Indian Constituent Assembly Nehru stated that India joining the Commonwealth *"would have met with the approval of Gandhiji"*

Prof. Nicholas Manserg wrote in *'The Commonwealth Experience'* that *"Nehru reinterpreted the idea of the Commonwealth to fit his own philosophy of international relations. It was a bridge between East and West, between various continents, races and cultures, a grouping of friendly nations, across the frozen configuration of international relations ...It was an example to the world of Gandhian principles applied to relations between nations"*

Addressing the UN General Assembly on November 3rd, 1948 Nehru inter alia stated " *I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind even though India, from a military point of view, is of no great consequence. I am not afraid of the bigness of great powers, their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my master taught me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire. We were supported and strengthened because throughout all this period we decided not to submit to evil....I do not know if it is possible to apply this to the problems which face the world to day...but I think if we banish fear, if we have confidence, even though we may take risks of trust rather of violent language, violent actions and in the end war... those risks are worth taking"*

Even as late as January 1962 Nehru was affirming Gandhi's impact on India's foreign policy. Faced with Western criticism of India's military take over of Goa, he declared:*" Its nonsense to say that we have lost face, moral or otherwise. At the same time I will admit that there has been something lost in terms of our philosophy of finding peaceful solutions to all such problems. The military approach - that is any kind of warlike action - is alien to our culture and tradition. In fact we want the use of force outlawed. .... The means employed are as vital for us as the ends they serve. This is what Gandhi taught us; and really this was the dilemma that held us back from any military action in Goa for 14 long years."*

Gandhi with Tagore, May 1925

Gandhi with Romain Rolland, December 1931

Gandhi's Impact On:

a) Intellectuals

Leo Tolstoy

Gandhi became acquainted with Tolstoy in 1894 through his book *'The Kingdom of God is within you'*, which deeply impressed him. Subsequently he read other Tolstoy books as also his *'Letter to a Hindoo'*, addressed to Tarakanath Das, Editor of a militant magazine called *'Free Hindustan'*, published in Vancouver. He translated that letter into Gujarati and described Tolstoy as *"one of the clearest thinkers in the Western World"* In 1909 he wrote respectfully to Tolstoy informing him of his non-violent struggle against racial oppression in South Africa and enclosing *'Hind Swaraj'* his manifesto for Indian Independence. Tolstoy replied : *" I have received your letter and your book 'Indian Home Rule'. I read your book with great interest because I think that the question you treat in it - passive resistance - is a question of the greatest importance not only for India but for whole humanity."* This was perhaps the last letter Tolstoy wrote as he died in November 1909.

Rabindranath Tagore

Initially critical of Gandhi's non cooperation movement as a *"negative and isolationist approach"* Tagore, was subsequently won over and wrote *" He stopped at the threshold of the huts of the thousands of dispossessed, dressed like one of their own. He spoke to them in their own language. Here was living truth at last and not only quotations from books....At Gandhi's call India has blossomed forth to new greatness, just as once before in earlier times when Buddha proclaimed the Truth of compassion and fellow feeling, among all living creatures".* It was Tagore who first addressed Gandhi as the "Mahatma"

Romain Rolland

Rolland was deeply impressed and inspired by the spiritual dimension of Gandhi' non-violent national struggle for India's emancipation from colonialism and social evils and wrote a book titled *'Mahatma Gandhi - The Man Who Became One with the Universal Being'* in which he

affirmed"*The apostle of India is the apostle of the world .....The battle that the Mahatma began fighting four years ago is our battle. All his struggles are hallowed by religious serenity*". Gandhi visited him in Switzerland on his way back from the 1931 London Round Table Conference.

b). Exceptional Individuals

Henry Polak, a British Jew, sub editor of the Transvaal Gazette when Gandhi first met him in 1904, subsequently studied law and became an articled clerk in Gandhi's Johannesberg office. It was he who lent Ruskin's *'Unto This Last'* to Gandhi and staunchly supported him by appearing in court on behalf of the Indian satyagrahis. In 1909 he visited India to brief Gokhale and others about Gandhi's South African struggle. In 1913 he actively participated in Gandhi's Satyagraha and was imprisoned. His wife Millie Polak's book *'Mr Gandhi : The Man'* is an early biographical sketch of him.

Hermann Kallenbach, an extremely wealthy German Jewish architect of Johannesberg, was the one who donated the land (1,100 aces), just outside Johannesberg, on which Gandhi set up Tolstoy Farm in 1910 to house families of imprisoned satyagrahis and engage in community farming. It was a mutual interest in Buddhism which first brought him and Gandhi together. Fischer writes " If anybody can be called Gandhi's second in command of the Sarvodaya movement (in South Africa) it was Kallenbach" In 1914, when Gandhi sailed for England enroute to India Kallenbach accompanied him. Unfortunately WWI broke out soon thereafter and Kallenbach was interned in England for the duration of the war. After the war he returned to Johannesberg and stayed in regular touch with Gandhi. He also made two visits to India to spend time with him. Gandhi described him as " a man of strong feelings, wide sympathies and child like simplicity"

Joseph J. Doke was a Baptist Minister of Johannesberg whom Gandhi first met in 1907, when he was been severely beaten up by a group of Pathans for registering himself despite his earlier calls not to do so. Doke took him to his home and ensured he got all the care and medical assistance he needed during the ten days he stayed there. A close

friendship developed between them. Whenever Gandhi was imprisoned or traveling abroad Doke edited his 'Indian Opinion'. In his biography of Gandhi he wrote *"Our Indian friend lives on a higher plane than most men do. ....Those who do not know him think there is some unworthy motive behind...to account for such profound unworldliness. But those who know him well are ashamed of themselves in his presence....He is one of those outstanding characters with whom to walk is a liberal education, to whom to know is to love"*

Charles Freer Andrews, ("Charlie" to Gandhi), son of an ardent imperialist Tory for whose children *"Deeds that won the Empire"* was compulsory reading, joined the priesthood and in early 1904 arrived in India to teach at St. Stephen's College, New Delhi. From the vice principal Sushil Kumar Rudra he learnt of India's spiritual heritage and national struggle and quite unlike other British clergy for whom *"faith in God ran parallel to faith in the Raj"* acquired much empathy for India and Indians.

Among Charlie's early Indian friends were Tagore and Gokhale. In 1913 Gokhale requested him to go to South Africa to assist Gandhi. He landed in Durban on January 1st.1914. On meeting Gandhi he respectfully touched his feet. This shocked South African whites. A Durban newspaper editor fumed this was " *unfortunate, most unfortunate"*. However, Charlie's respect for Gandhi continued undiminished and blossomed into a life long friendship. In South Africa he saw for the first time racialism in its most virulent form and was outraged. He described Gandhi as a *"moral genius"* and a *"commanding spiritual personality"*. Satyagraha he extolled as *"corporate moral resistance"*.

Charlie accompanied Gandhi to London in 1931 and arranged for him to meet many leading British intellectuals. This provided Gandhi excellent opportunity to convince them that he was not a *"humbug"* and *"an impossible fanatic"*. These meetings also helped redeem Charlie's reputation as *"God's own fool"*. Earlier than any other Englishman he perceived that India was astir and needed to be treated with dignity and justice. About him Gandhi wrote " *I have not known a better man or a better Christian"*

Gandhi in London with Rev Charles Andrews (extreme left), Madeleine Slade (second from right) and others

Madeleine Slade, daughter of a British Admiral, first heard of Gandhi from Romain Rolland who referred to him as *"another Christ"*. Thereafter she read his book on Gandhi and felt impelled to go to India and work with him. Her parents, who moved in London's top social circles, were greatly embarrassed their daughter had *"joined the entourage of the arch - rebel of the British Empire"*. On arrival at Gandhi's Ashram in November 1925, he told her *"You shall be my daughter"*. He named her *"Mira behn"*. She was with him always thereafter except during his jail terms. Sometimes she too was imprisoned. She accompanied him to London in 1931 and three years later undertook a visit to USA to promote India's cause there. She subsequently functioned as Gandhi's emissary to the Viceroy and other senior officials and stayed on in India for 11 years after Gandhi's assassination. After her final return to England she wrote an autobiography titled *'The Spirit's pilgrimage'*. It was a moving yet objective tribute to Gandhi.

Vinoba Bhave, the disciple who was most like Gandhi, first met him in 1916 and joined his Sabarmati Ashram a year later on completion of his Sanskrit studies. He lived and worked close to Gandhi right upto the latter's assassination in January 1948. In 1951, he launched the Bhoodan

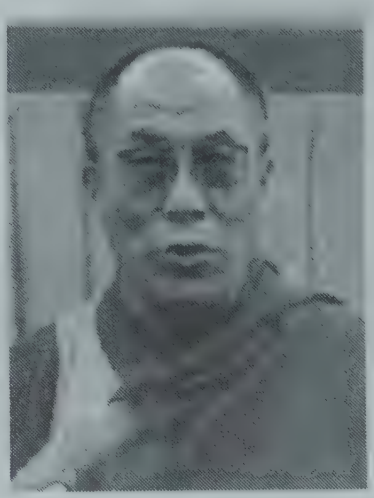
(land gift) movement to secure through persuasion, a redistribution of land from the large landlords in each village to the landless poor. Walking from village to village he collected 12, 201 acres in the first in 51 days. By 1958 he had collected over 3 million acres. It was a major achievement even though a good part of this land turned out to be unproductive. The Bhoodan movement's indirect benefit was to inspire Sampattidan, Buddhidan and Shramdan, (donation of wealth, knowledge and labour respectively) which some public spirited people and professional groups have been practicing ever since.

Dr. M. C. Modi, is the best example of Buddhidan. Having heard a speech by Gandhi in 1942 at Beelagi near Bijapur his home town, he decided to dedicate his life to free eye care to the poor. By the time he died at age 90 in November 2005 he had conducted 595,019 eye operations. One day in 1976 he performed 833 cataract operations and entered the Guinness Book of Records.

Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak, a Brahmin engineer, was inspired on Gandhi's birth centenary in 1969 to dedicate himself to the emancipation of India's scavengers. He designed a simple (sulabh) "gravity toilet" connected to a septic pit and since 1972 has set up innumerable Sulabh Souchalayas all over the India thus emancipating almost 50,000 scavenger families from their despised traditional occupation. In this process he has also brought much relief to millions of slum dwellers and homeless people without access to toilets and bathrooms. He has won many national and international awards for his work including the Padma Bhushan in 1991 and the St. Francis of Assissi Award in 1992.

c). Nobel Laureates

His Holiness the Dalai Lama

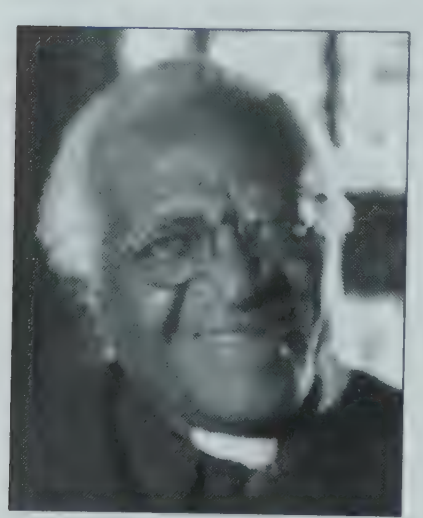


In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech in December 1989 His Holiness the Dalai Lama spoke thus: "*I accept the prize with profound gratitude on behalf of the oppressed everywhere, and all those who struggle for freedom and work for world peace. I accept it as a tribute to the man who founded the*

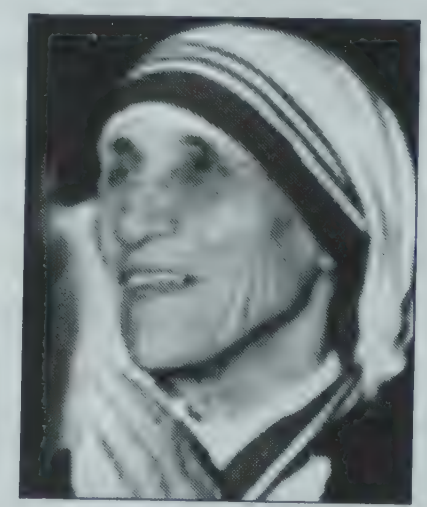
modern tradition of non-violent action for change - Mahatma Gandhi - whose life taught and inspired me. And of course, I accept it on behalf of the six million Tibetan people, my brave countrymen and women inside Tibet, who have suffered and continue to suffer so much....".

Other Nobel Laureates who have publicly acknowledged Gandhi's influence on them are Albert Luthuli, Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams of Ireland, Adolfo Perez Esquivel of Argentina, Lech Walesa of Poland, Shimon Peres of Israel, Rigoberta Menchu of Guatemala, Mother Theresa of India and Aung San Su Kyi of Myanmar, whom Alan Clements describes as *"Burma's Gandhi"*.

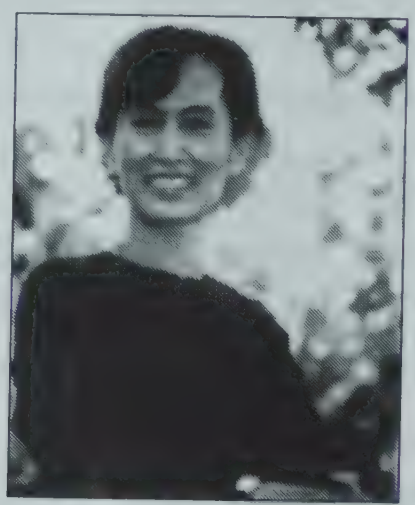
In 1981, 53 Nobel Laureates issued a manifesto calling upon world leaders, national governments and international organizations to formulate a comprehensive programme to combat the *'Global Holocaust'* of hunger and under development. It contained the following sentences *"Although the powerful of this earth bear the greatest responsibility, they are not alone. If the helpless take their fate into their own hands, if increasing numbers refuse to obey any law other than the fundamental human right, which is the right to life, if the weak organize themselves and use non-violent actions exemplified by Gandhi, it is certain that an end could be put to this catastrophe in our time"*



Desmond Tutu



Mother Theresa



Aung San Su Kyi

d). National liberation, anti-racism and anti-dictatorship *"peoples power"* movements.

USA.

The deplorable condition of American Negros and the Gandhi inspired liberation strategy Martin Luther King devised for them is best described in his own words. : *"For more than three centuries American Negroes have been battered by the iron rod of oppression, frustrated by day and bewildered by night by unbearable injustice. Forced to live with these shameful conditions, we are tempted to become bitter and to retaliate with a corresponding hate. But if this happens, the new order we seek will be little more than a duplicate of the old order. We must in strength and humility seek it with love. While abhorring segregation we shall love the segregationist. To our most bitter opponents we say "We shall match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We shall meet your physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will but we will continue to love you. We cannot in good conscience obey your unjust laws because non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good... One day we shall win freedom, but not only for ourselves. We shall so appeal to your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process and our victory will be a double victory".*

Martin Luther King was won over to Gandhian non-violence in 1956, after hearing Howard University President Dr Mordecai Johnson speak about it. He visited India in 1959 to learn from Gandhi's disciples how non-violent resistance was planned and implemented. On return to the US he wrote *"I left India more convinced than ever before that non-violent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom."*

It was in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1961 that King first tried out 'satyagraha' in his struggle for racial equality. Using it consistently thereafter he brought about more beneficial change for American blacks in eight years of non-violent struggle, than had come to them in the hundred years after the Civil War. The way non-violent struggle transformed his fellow blacks King described thus. *"When legal contests*

Rev Martin Luther King and Coretta King with Jawaharlal Nehru

were the sole form of activity, the ordinary negro was involved as a passive spectator. His interest was stirred, but his energies were unemployed. Mass marches transformed the common man into the star performer he became. The Negro was no longer a subject of change; he was the active organ of change. The dignity his job denied him, he obtained in political and social action".

For King :"*Mahatma Gandhi was the first person in human history to lift the ethic of love of Jesus Christ, above mere interaction between individuals and make it into a powerful and effective social force on a large scale If humanity is to progress, Gandhi is inescapable. We may ignore him at our own peril".* When an American churchman criticized him for this he replied *"It is ironic yet inescapably true that the greatest Christian of the modern world was a man who never embraced Christianity"*

South Africa.

In his tribute to Gandhi on his 125th birth anniversary Nelson Mandela wrote: *"Gandhi threatened the South African Government during the first and second decades of our century as no other man did. He established the first anti-colonial political organization in the country, if not in the world, founding the Natal Indian Congress in 1894. The African People's organization (APO) was established in 1902, the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. So both were witnesses to and highly influenced by Gandhi's militant Satyagraha which began in 1907 and reached its climax in 1913 with the epic march of 5000 indentured workers on the*

coal mines of Natal. So the Indian struggle, in a sense is rooted in the African.....Though separated in time there is a bond between us, in our shared prison experiences, our defiance of unjust laws and in the fact that violence threatens our aspirations for peace and reconciliation".

Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

Hungarian 'freedom fighters' forced back Soviet tanks and troops

The 1980s witnessed successful non-violent struggle in various parts of the world. In 1980, 'Solidarity' was set up in Poland by Lech Walesa and fellow dock workers in Gdansk. Their seven year struggle brought about the collapse of Communism in Poland and the election of Lech Walesa as President. During the same period *"People's Power"* revolutions ended Apartheid in South Africa, the Marcos Dictatorship in the Phillipines, the Pinochet regime in Chile, and Communist dictatorships in Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Bulgaria and the Baltic States. Subsequently, Communist dictatorships collapsed in Russia, Ukraine, Serbia, Georgia & Uzbekistan.

There presently are Gandhi 'Centres' or 'Ashrams' in over thirty countries around the world each of them promoting understanding and respect for Gandhian values and non-violent struggle. In some countries there is more than one such center. His statues are seen in over a hundred countries. In some Francophone and Latin American countries there are *'Communities of the Ark'*, which Jean Lanza Del Vasto, a dedicated Gandhian launched in an effort to establish a *'Gandhian Order in the West '*. These 'Communities' seek to be self sufficient by adopting a frugal lifestyle and undertaking manual work as Gandhi had urged. No other modern leader has achieved a global inspirational impact of this magnitude.

e). National defence and international security strategists

Gandhi's approach to national defence and international security was based on the maxim that for achieving security and peace it was the path of Truth, Justice, non-violence training and mutually acceptable agreements that needed to be adopted and not that of amassing arms, invading and occupying countries and waging war. All actions which created fear and hate were to be averted and the contrary course followed. This approach is embodied in UNESCO's motto " *Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed*".

Gandhi urged non-violent defence even when India was threatened with Japanese invasion in 1942. "*If India were a free country, things could be done non-violently to prevent the Japanese from entering the country. Non-violent resistance could commence the moment they effected a landing. Non-violent resisters would refuse them any help, even water. If the Japanese compel resisters to give them water, they should refuse and be prepared to die in the act of resistance, for it is no part of their duty to help anyone to steal their country.*" This stand of Gandhi has been much ridiculed as absurd. Yet, this is exactly what the Russians did against Napoleon in 1812. They even burnt their historic and beloved Moscow to deny him and his troops shelter against the Russian winter. It worked admirably for them!

Though Independent India summarily rejected Gandhi's ideas on non-violent national defence they have been received quite favourably abroad. Paul Wehr, in his article on *'Non-Violence and National Defence'* in the book *'Gandhi in the Post Modern Age'*, traces the development of the concept of civilian defence, subsequently termed social defence, based on Gandhi's non-violent resistance strategy. He points out that Walter Lippman was the first to write in its favour (1928) though William James had earlier (1910) urged the need to find a *"moral equivalent of war"* as an antidote for it. In 1937 Kenneth Boulding in his *'Paths of Glory: A new way with War'* argued that the technological revolution had made war dysfunctional and proposed that Britain, adopt a non-violent defence policy as a *"functional substitute for war"*. Lindberg in Denmark (1937),

and Vrind in Holland (1938) urged similar action for their respective countries. In 1955, Arne Naess and Johann Galtung in Norway enunciated the concept of *'non-violent social defence'* based on Gandhi's ideas and thus established a direct link between him and modern social defence theory. In the USA, Cecil Hinshaw (1956) argued that military defence in the nuclear age was too expensive and proposed social defence as a sensible option. In 1959, Stephen King Hall, a respected former naval commander, in his book *'Defence in the Nuclear Age'* questioned the rationality of conventional military defence in the contemporary situation and urged that Britain renounce nuclear weapons, reject the US nuclear umbrella, devise non nuclear defence alternatives and also consider social defence. These ideas generated much public debate in Britain, including in parliament and coincided with the launch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Two decades later CND enlarged itself into the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign.

Separately, in 1959, Johann Galtung in Norway and Gene Sharpe in the USA carefully analysed various non-violent resistance movements, particularly during Nazi occupation of Denmark and Norway, and established a credible case for Social Defence. Sharpe pointed out that in an era of weapons of mass destruction, military power no longer has the capacity to defend a nation except through assured mutual destruction. Superiority in conventional military strength enables an aggressor to invade and occupy a country but not to secure political control of it unless the victims willingly accept it or are forced to do so. In civilian defence military occupation is resisted by the entire people, as Norway and Denmark did during Nazi occupation, by police refusing to locate and arrest resisters, teachers refusing to teach Nazi propaganda, workers adopting go-slow tactics, farmers destroying crops and newspapers not accepting censorship. Such tactics shift the struggle from the borders to the turf where resisters have decided advantages in foiling the invader's plans to occupy, administer and exploit their country.

The 1964 Oxford Conference on Civilian Defence brought together military strategists, defence researchers, political analysts and people

with direct experience of non-violent resistance and resulted in a scholarly publication by Adam Roberts on the efficacy and potential of non-violent defence. As a follow up to the Oxford Conference another conference was held in Munich in 1967. It led to a research group headed by Theodore Ebert making a detailed study of the 1968 Soviet suppression of the Czech uprising and the civilian resistance which followed. This group subsequently submitted a proposal for a German Social Defence strategy.

The Norwegian government was the first to officially study the merits of civilian defence. The Galtung and Hansen Commission set up for this purpose in 1987 recommended *'Total Defence'* whereby Norwegians would be trained for civilian as well as military defence. A similar study undertaken by Denmark recommended that in case of any future attack only Jutland would be militarily defended and the Danish islands would have to rely only on civilian defence. Other European Governments that have set up commissions to study the merits of such defence are Holland, Sweden, Austria and Finland. A study by the Finnish Government's Psychological Defence Board led a parliamentary committee to conclude that civilian defence must be an integral part of national defence policy. By the 1990s Civilian / Social Defence had been incorporated as an integral component in the national defence policies of Sweden, Norway and Lithuania with Denmark, Holland and Finland moving in the same direction..

Paul Wehr concludes his historical survey of the evolution of *'Social Defence'* thus: *"Social Defence as a concept originated in the ethical principles of the Gandhian movement and in pacifist ideology. The Gandhian movement demonstrated the power of massive non cooperation with an occupying power in that case Britain. As the destructiveness of modern war became more evident, it was natural that the principles and techniques of Gandhian non cooperation would be applied to the problem of national defense. At first social defence research was non governmental. By the 1970s Governments were supporting it and political parties and peace movements were debating it. A quarter century of scholarly research has produced a respectable body of knowledge about*

the underlying principles, diverse methods and practical developments of social defence....Only time and events will tell whether Gandhi's ideas and practice will be as influential in the area of national defence as they have been in the field of social change"

In his recent book *'Waging Non-Violent Struggle - 20th Century Practice, 21st Century Potential'*, Professor Gene Sharpe has analysed 23 separate 20th century non-violent struggles and indicated how this form of struggle operates in undermining sources of political legitimacy and power, and how it can be made more effective by strategic planning and systematic training. He affirms *"Today, if understood accurately and applied intelligently, wisely, and courageously, this type of struggle in fact offers great hope for a better future for our world"*

Gandhi's views on nuclear arms were explicitly expressed in the tragic aftermath of the atom bomb drops on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: *"The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter bombs. Non-Violence is the only thing the atom bomb cannot destroy..... Unless the world now adopts non-violence, it will spell certain suicide for mankind."* Albert Einstein echoed the same sentiments : *"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything but our thinking; thus we are drifting toward a catastrophe beyond comparison. We shall require a new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive".*

Though Independent India rejected Gandhi's ideas on non-violent national defence, it steadfastly opposed for four full decades, the production, testing, and stockpiling of nuclear arms, as *'crimes against humanity'*. At the UN General Assembly's Third Special Session on Disarmament (February 1988), Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi asserted *"Nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate human civilization and all that mankind has built through millenia of labour and toil. Nuclear weapon states and non nuclear weapon states alike are threatened by such a holocaust. It is imperative that nuclear weapons be eliminated..... Peace must be predicated on a basis other than the assurance of global destruction. We need a world order based on non-violence and peaceful coexistence."* He

outlined, and urged the adoption of a three stage Action Plan for elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2010.

Sadly, on May 11, 1998, an ultra nationalist Government peremptorily jettisoned India's long and ardous struggle for a nuclear free world, with three nuclear bomb explosions. Outlook Magazine described this action as *"The Mother of all Gambles"* and asked whether it was done in the national or ruling party interest. Protagonists rationalized this step in terms of India's greatly endangered security environment. One of them, like *"devil quoting scripture"* invoked Gandhi and argued that Non-violence could be practiced only by those with *"the strength of a giant"*, and that *"Defiance of the nuclear hegemonic order and a declaration of no first use, together constitute a viable non-violent anti-nuclear resistance policy"*. The then Home Minister boasted that acquisition of nuclear arms had transformed India's security environment and no country would dare attack it thereafter. However, within two weeks Pakistan established nuclear parity with India and a few months later clandestinely sent its troops into Kargil. The war which followed was comparatively minor in terms of

Courtesy : Outlook Magazine

past Indo-Pak wars. Yet, when the fighting began to go badly for it, Pakistan ominously hinted it might use its *"ultimate weapon"*. Pakistani security analyst Hussain Haqqani and former US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot, in their books *'Pakistan between Mosque and Military'* and *'Engaging India'* have both confirmed the Pakistani threat was not an empty one, and in its final phase the Kargil conflict had definitely acquired a *"nuclear dimension"*. Far from improving India's security, its nuclear arms have created great new risks for it considering Pakistan's military-dominated, Jihadist-infiltrated and politically volatile scenario.

Former US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara, in an article titled 'Nuclear Apocalypse' in Foreign Policy (Spring 2005 issue), wrote that if the Bush administration and Congress would carefully study the military utility of nuclear weapons; the moral and legal considerations regarding their use and the risks of accidental use in the present global context they would conclude, *"as I and an increasing number of senior military leaders, politicians, and civilian security experts have, that we must move promptly toward the elimination - or near elimination - of all nuclear weapons. For many, there is a strong temptation to cling to the strategies of the past 40 years. But to do so would be a serious mistake leading to unacceptable risks for all nations."*

Harvard Professor Noam Chomsky echoed the same idea in an article titled *'We Must Act Now to Prevent Another Hiroshima – or Worse'* in the 'Independent' (August 6th, 2005), : *"The recent explosions and casualties in London are yet another reminder of how the cycle of attack and response could escalate, unpredictably, even to a point horrifically worse than Hiroshima or Nagasaki"*. He rued current US policy of *"anticipatory self-defense"* and quoted President Jimmy Carter: *"The United States is the major culprit in this erosion of the NPT. While claiming to be protecting the world from proliferation threats in Iraq, Libya, Iran and North Korea, American leaders not only have abandoned existing treaty restraints but also have asserted plans to test and develop new weapons, including Anti-Ballistic missiles, the earth-*

penetrating 'bunker buster' and perhaps some new 'small' bombs. They also have abandoned past pledges and now threaten first use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states".

Sixty years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the prophetic wisdom of Gandhi, Einstein, Bertrand Russel and others regarding the enormous threat nuclear weapons pose is now being acknowledged by a small but influential group in the world's only super power. Sadly, in Gandhi's own country, plans have recently been announced for development of inter continental ballistic missiles and the Naval Chief has called for a second strike capability that is *"overwhelmingly devastating"*, urging that India should shed its diffidence and *"find not just the ways and means, but the will to project power overseas"*

Those who glibly talk about an *"overwhelmingly devastating"* second strike capability ignore the fact that such a capability is more likely to motivate a preemptive strike. The great guru of nuclear arms policy Henry Kissinger pointed this out in testimony to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee on SALT II: *"The nuclear age combines weapons of unprecedented destructive power, extremely rapid modes of delivery of intercontinental range and high vulnerability to a surprise attack. In these new and unprecedented circumstances, the conclusion seems inescapable that the side whose capacity for retaliation was vulnerable must react in crises in ways which would heighten the liklihood of cataclysm; a country whose strategic forces were not secure could be driven, even against its will, to strike first rather than await the opponents attack which it would know it could not survive".*

Protagonists of nuclear arms might also like to recall that a non-nuclear North Vietnam faced a nuclear armed America and subsequently a nuclear armed China, and emerged victorious on both occasions: a non-nuclear Egypt successfully confronted a nuclear Britain over Suez; and most importantly, in 1971, a non-nuclear India under the intrepid Mrs. Gandhi ensured Bangladesh's emergence as an independent nation in 1971 despite US nuclear blackmail. In all these cases it was right rather than might, courage rather than fear, and indomitable will rather than superior arms that triumphed.

f). Political philosophy and militant nationalism.

Though Gandhi affirmed he was only a *"practical idealist"* and not a philosopher, his approach to every issue was so fundamental and ethical, that he has impacted favourably even in fields such as political philosophy and economic/management theory, without endeavouring to do so and without having any professional training in these fields.

Prof Gene Sharpe, besides crediting Gandhi with showing how to non-violently yet effectively oppose injustice and oppression, also credits him with *"one of the most fundamental of all insights into the nature of Government - that all rulers in fact are dependent for their power on the submission, cooperation and obedience of their subjects"* and quotes him *"In politics, its (Satyagraha's) use is based on the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed"*

Dr. Joan Bondurant affirms that he made an *"inestimable contribution to political philosophy"* by challenging the basic assumptions of main stream political theory which assumes a separation of means and ends *"The Gandhian dialectic views means as ends-in-the-making. In contrast to the Hegelian and Marxian dialectics, the Gandhian is not descriptive of society but is a process to be applied by human beings in resolving basic conflicts and in producing an entirely new total circumstance ....The Gandhian experiments suggest that if man is to free himself from fear and threat alike, he pause in his flight from violence to set himself to the task of its conquest"*

Professor Dennis Dalton extols Gandhi for making a fundamental contribution to political theory with his concepts of Swaraj, rights and duties. He writes *"European and American political theory has remained split since the 17th century in its conceptualization of freedom and obligation. The philosophies of Locke and Mill on the one side against Rousseau and Hegel on the other, mark a theoretical schism related to these two concepts so deep that it suggests, in Isiah Berlin's judgement, profoundly divergent and irreconcilable attitudes to the ends of life".* He argues that Gandhi by directly relating rights to duties and freedom to

responsibility constitutes the *"different voice"* in political thought which *"merits inclusion in Western political discourse"*. Gandhi's linkage of rights to duties was based on the premise that all the individual's rights are provided by society and therefore their continuance had to benefit the individual and also society. Thus the right to free speech would survive only if individuals perform their duty by not using this right in an anti-social way. By society, he meant the collective entity of individuals and not the state. He was skeptical about the role of the state in this field.

Prof. Glenn Paige titled his 1990 Gandhi memorial lecture at Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti, New Delhi *"Gandhi's contribution to Global Non-Violent Awakening"* and stressed the need for an international, interspiritual, interdisciplinary global institution *"to help bring the legacy of Gandhiji and other non-violent resources to bear in global Satyagraha (non-violent action based on Truth and Love) for global Sarvodaya (non-violent well being of all)"*. Having succeeded, against all odds, in establishing the Centre for Global Non-Violence at Honolulu in 2000, he thereafter embarked on his next, even more ambitious project of formulating a *'Non Killing Global Political Science'*. His book thus titled and published in 2001, surveys the evolution of political philosophy from Plato to the present day, lists the many successful non-violent struggles in recent decades and envisions a non-violent global community with *"no killing, no threats to kill and no weapons specifically designed to kill"*. Prof. William Smirnov, Vice President, Russian Political Science Association & International Political Science Association has extolled the book thus *"The basic ideas in this unique book can and should be accepted as the basis of common values for humanity in the 21st century as well as a program for their realization"*

More pertinent to the present terrorism-plagued global scenario is Gandhi's 1909 booklet *'Hind Swaraj'* ,*"written in answer to the Indian school of violence"* and teaching *"the gospel of love in place of that of hate..."*. Subsequently he wrote *"It (Hind Swaraj) was an attempt to offer the revolutionary something infinitely superior, retaining the whole of the spirit of self sacrifice and bravery that was to be found in the revolutionary"*.

Regarding the violent activities of militant Indian nationalists he wrote as early as 1908 *"However much I may sympathize with and admire worthy motives, I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes.....Acts of violence create bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyer .....The bomb now thrown at Englishmen will be aimed at Indians after the British are there no longer."*

In December 1928, in an article titled *'The curse of assassination'* he wrote: *"English books have taught us to applaud as heroic deeds of daring, even those of free-booters, villains, pirates and train wreckers. Newspapers fill columns with exciting stories, real or imaginary, of such deeds. Some of us have learnt this art of applauding anything adventurous. This cannot be regarded as anything but a bad omen. Surely there is nothing noble about a cold blooded robbery or murder".*

If Gandhi's "offer" is accepted by present day fundamentalists, revolutionaries and jihadi suicide bombers, their respective agendas would be far better served and the world would be an infinitely safer place. That this "offer" was made almost a hundred years ago, is a measure of Gandhi's extraordinary foresight, which Johan Galtung extolls thus" *Gandhi was certainly a revolutionary, much more revolutionary than the piecemeal revolutionaries of Western civilization.....Gandhi revolutionized revolution itself".*

"Non-Violence" sculpture in front of UN building in New York

g). Economic theory and methodology

Gandhi's economic ideas, which were principally motivated by the widespread and grinding poverty of India, have drawn severe criticism as primitive and impractical. One critic emphatically declared *"Gandhi does not understand economics"* and accused him of trying *"to put back the clock"*. Yet even in the economic field Gandhi has had a notable impact.

For Gandhi there was no sharp distinction between economics and ethics. *"Economics that hurt the moral well being of an individual or a nation are immoral and therefore sinful. So also, the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral...Swaraj has no meaning for the millions if they do not know how to employ their enforced idleness. Attainment of Swaraj is possible within a short time, but it is possible only by the revival of the spinning wheel."*

Gandhi wanted the village to be the basic economic entity and its economy geared to the people's innate talents, traditional avocations and easily available/replaceable natural resources. Where production of a particular item required a higher investment than the village could afford it would be located in the closest town. Those who chose to work in that town would continue to live in their own village. These small industrial townships would benefit from low cost rural labour and the capital generated by revived agriculture. Besides, they would motivate improvement of local communication networks and not need ordinary requisites to be brought in from far away cities.

Gandhi's ideas of simple living and manual labour reflected the views of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau. *"Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of selfish wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment and increases the capacity for service"*

Gandhi was quite opposed to state intervention in economic matters as it impinges on the individual's creativity. *"I look upon an increase of the power of the state with the greatest fear, because while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress. I know of many cases where men have adopted trusteeship, but none where the state has really lived for the poor."* He believed that

moral suasion was an effective tool even in the economic field and could bring about beneficial change by getting individuals to change their economic behaviour e.g., stop buying foreign cloth. Vinobha Bhave's Bhoodan movement is another good example.

Though Gandhi wrote and spoke much about his economic ideas he neither had the time nor training to formulate a coherent economic theory. What came to be called *"Gandhian Economics"* was the outcome of his remarkable disciple J.C.Kumarappa (JCK)'s dedicated efforts, who over a two decade period enunciated it in the columns of Young India and his book *'Economy of Permanence'.*

Educated at Syracuse University, JCK was a thriving chartered accountant in Bombay. In 1929, as advised by a friend, he went to seek Gandhi's opinion on his Columbia University doctoral dissertation on 'Public Finance and Indian Poverty'. In Gandhi's hut he had to sit *"on the cow dung floor, regardless of the well kept crease of my silk trousers !"*. He was however amply compensated when Gandhi praised his dissertation with the words " *You are the first economist I have come across who thinks on the same lines as I do"* and offered to publish it, in instalments, in "Young India'. Thus began the close association between them. The fact that Gandhi captivated JCK at their first meeting is another proof of the magical effect of his personality. Subsequently he got JCK to take up the editorship of Young India and become president of the All India Village Industries Association .

The first foreign economist to come out in support of Gandhi's economic ideas was the German economist Ernst Schumacher who was adviser to the British Coal Board. In his book *'Small is Beautiful'* he described Gandhi as a *"People's Economist...who refused to treat economics as if people did not matter"* and argued *"The technology of mass production is inherently violent, ecologically damaging, self defeating in terms of non renewable resources and stultifying for the human person. The technology of production by the masses, making use of the best of modern knowledge and experience is conducive to decentralization, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines"*. He named this *'intermediate technology'* and affirmed it was vastly superior to traditional technologies and simpler and cheaper

than modern technologies. George McRobie followed Schmacher's lead with his book *'Small is possible'*. Separately, Ivan Illich, an Austrain Catholic priest in Mexico, echoed Schumacher's ideas in his books *'Tools for conviviality'* and *'Energy and Equity'* .

Narender Pani's book *'Inclusive Economics'* lauds Gandhi's economic methodology which unlike the conventional economic approach of constructing theoretical models and framing policies based thereon, focused first on the desired objectives and then on the requisites to achieve them. Pani argues that this approach is much better able to produce the intended results than abstract theoretical models which, as the ASEAN economic crisis of 1997 showed, often yield unexpected, calamitous results. He writes *"It is Gandhi's skepticism about grand theories that makes him relevant to the challenges faced by economists at the beginning of the 21st century. Gandhi emphasized the need to go beyond theories to understanding society. The method he developed was inclusive enough to deal with both the known and the unknown while reducing the scope for expediency. Once we shift the focus of theory to method, there is much wider acceptance of Gandhi's ideas. Even within mainstream economics there is some recognition of the value of the Gandhian method. .... Too often Gandhi's ideas are associated with his ascetic life style. There is in fact a tendency to believe that the Gandhian method would only be relevant to those who accept his ascetic lifestyle. But once we recognize that the method would be equally consistent with a variety of moral frameworks, it gains wider relevance"*

Gandhi's innovative Trusteeship concept that *"those who own money now are asked to behave like Trustees, holding their riches on behalf of the poor"*, sought to establish a link between ethics and economics. Its essence is that wealth acquired either through bequest or through trade, industry and other means is *"God given"* and belongs as much to the community as to oneself and must be held in trust and used for the general welfare. During Gandhi's lifetime this concept evoked poor response. However, two Indian capitalists, Jamnalal Bajaj and J.R.D Tata adopted it. In the latter case it was partly because of family tradition but Gandhi's influence is undeniable as the following excerpt from one of JRD's letters reveals. *"I may say that I have always been basically in agreement with Gandhi's concept of trusteeship and have throughout my*

career tried to live up to it. In fact, our group of companies have, to the extent possible, officially adopted it as part of their credo. My only doubts have been in regard to the practical effect that can be given to such a concept, considering, on the one hand, the ethical standards, or lack of them, that seem to prevail today amongst large sections of the business community of our country, and on the other, the dogmatic view of socialism and the resultant hostility towards private enterprise adopted by our government".

In recent years, as the sharp demarcation between capital and labour has faded with employee stock-options making labour part owner of the enterprise's capital, and corporate social responsibility has emerged as an integral element in good corporate governance, Gandhi's Trusteeship concept is being adopted even by those uninfluenced by him. Among the contemporary corporate personalities who have publicly acknowledged his influence on them are Narayan Murthy of Infosys and Azim Premji of Wipro. Multimillionaires though they are, their personal lives are remarkably modest and much of their surplus wealth is spent in providing education and toilet facilities for the masses. The most impressive example of the Gandhi's Trusteeship concept in action however is the Tata Steel plant and township in Jamshedpur about which the world's largest steel maker Lakshmi Mittal recently wrote: *"For the breed that talks about corporate social responsibility and the role of corporate India, a visit to Jamshedpur is a must..... I have nothing to do with Tata Steel, but I strongly believe the message of hope and the message of goodness that they are spreading is worth sharing.....They have done so much more since I last visited Jamshedpur in 1992. The town has obviously got busier but the values thankfully haven't changed.... Greener and cleaner and a tribute to environment management. You could have been in the mountains. Such was the quality of air I inhaled! There was no belching smoke; no tired faces and so many more women workers, even on the shop floor. .....There was spring in the air which came from a certain calmness which has always been the hallmark of Jamshedpur.... Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata had created an edifice that is today a robust company and it is not about profits and about valuation. It is not about who becomes a millionaire and who doesnt'. It is not about getting the job done with dignity and respect keeping the age-old values intact....."*

h). Management theory and practice.

Gandhi's impact in the field of management was not direct but through the change brought about in the intellectual mindset on this subject, by the manner in which he had successfully managed his many satyagrahas in which thousands of people, of diverse backgrounds had participated.

In the early 1930s, Britain's leading economist Lord Keynes had enunciated a remarkably amoral guideline for economic management in his *'A Treatise on Money'*. *"For atleast another hundred years we must pretend to ourselves that fair is foul and foul is fair; for foul is useful and fair is not. Avarice and usury and precaution must be our gods for a little longer still. For only they can lead us out of the tunnel of economic necessity into daylight".* Much colonial economic and financial management was handled on this basis, with some *"constitutional reforms"* from time to time and an imposing judicial system to camouflage it.

In sharp contrast, by the early 1980s, the American management guru Peter Drucker had a very different gospel for managers. In *' The New Realities'* he wrote: *"Because management deals with the motivation and direction of people in a common venture, it is deeply embedded in culture. A basic challenge managers therefore face is to identify those elements of the traditions and culture of their workers that can be used as management building blocks. Besides, as everyone like myself, who have worked with managers of all kinds of institutions for long years, have become aware, management is deeply involved with spiritual concerns - the nature of man, good and evil."*

Since the 1990s, concepts of Total Quality Management (TQM), customer relations management (CRM), corporate social responsibility (CSR), safeguarding interests of all stake holders and environmental protection have come to be embodied in Management theory and good corporate governance. Gandhi had practiced these since the 1920s.

Concerning TQM, he had written *"Students must all do spinning in a scientific manner. Their tools shall always be neat, clean and in good order and condition, then their yarn will naturally be of the highest quality".*

On CRM, he was explicit. *"A customer is the most important visitor on our premises. He is not dependent on us. We are dependent on him. He is not an interruption in our work. He is the purpose of it... We are not doing him a favour by serving him. He is doing us a favour by giving us an opportunity to do so"* .

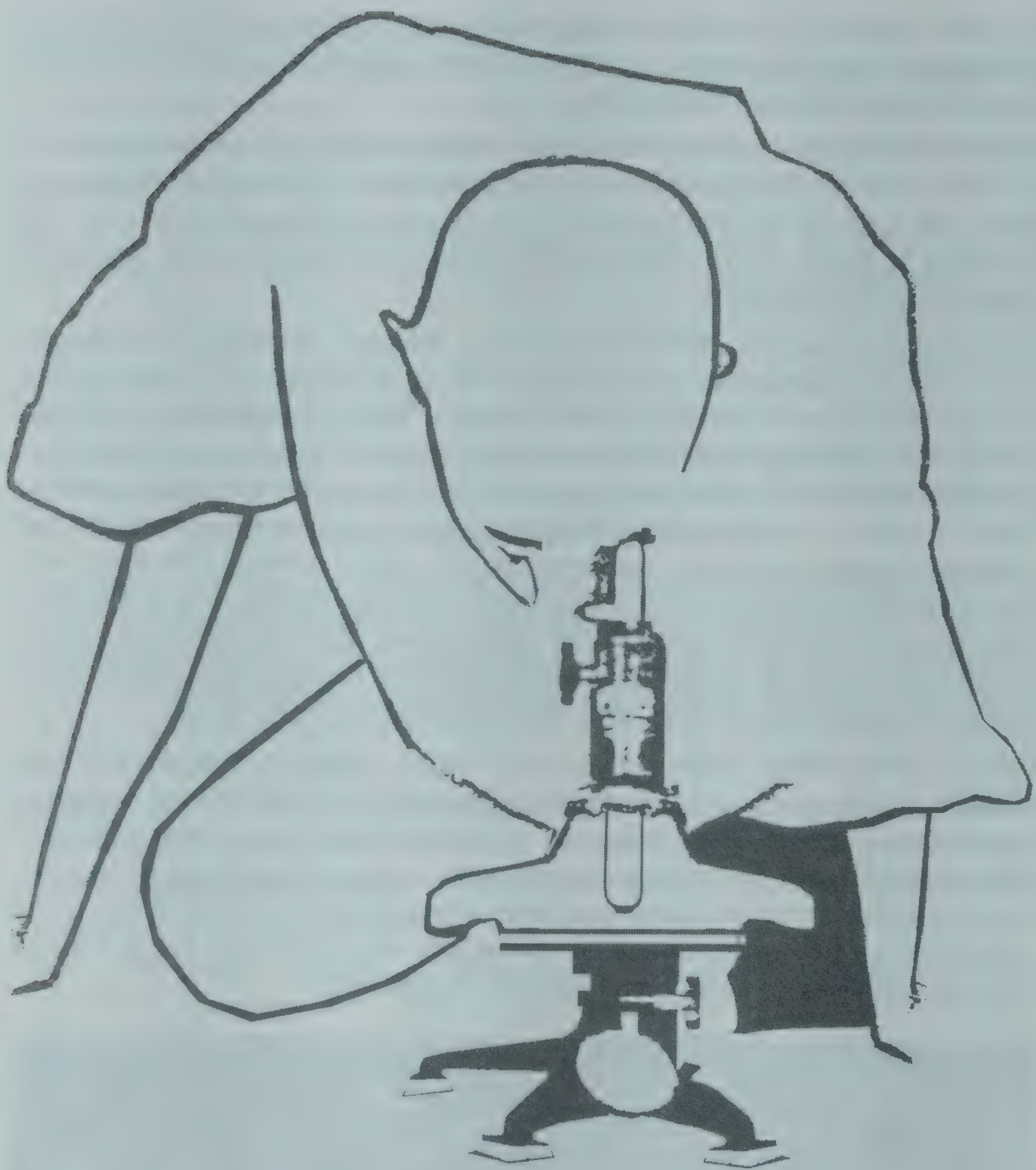
His CSR is seen in his educational, health and sanitation efforts for the Champaran Indigo peasants, as soon as their grievances with the British landlords had been settled by him.

As for protecting the interests of all stake holders, it is noteworthy that he availed of his 1931 London visit for the Round Table Conference, to meet and explain the rationale of the foreign textiles boycott he had launched in India, to the Lancashire textile mill workers who had been adversely affected by it.

Anand David, Founder-Director, Manford Alliance, writing in the special "*The Leader Mahatma*' issue (October 2nd 2005) of Training and Management wrote "*After Peter Senge's 'Fifth Discipline' or Daniel Goleman's 'Working with Emotional Intelligence', a scholar's book that genuinely stands out in the world of organizations and their development is 'Good to Great' ... which states that in research studies of successful and enduring organizations the character of the leader consistently stood out. One key concept is Level 5 leadership. Level 5 leaders are a study in polarity in being both modest yet determined, humble yet bold....Their primary driver is the larger cause of an enduring organization (read nation) rather than personal myopic gain. This is Gandhi to many of us*"

Level 5 leadership is the pinnacle of People Capable Maturity Model (PCMM) developed by the Software Engineering Institute of Carnegie Mellon University in 1995. Whereas 1 - 4 leadership levels relate to basic management, work processes, environment, organizational competencies, skill analysis, team building and mentoring, level 5 is concerned with motivation and optimization of personnel and organizational competencies through inspired leadership and perfect teamwork.

Gandhi with Lancashire textile workers in 1931



"I would prize every invention of science made for the benefit of all"

Art work by Venkatesh

i). Science and Technology

Because of Gandhi's emphasis on *"production by the masses rather than mass production"* some critics have alleged he was anti-science and anti-progress. Specifically asked in 1924 why he was anti-machinery his response was: *"How I can be anti-machinery when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel is a machine, a little toothpick is a machine. What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The machine should not atrophy the limbs of man".*

He held that machinery, by being *"labour saving"* makes thousands of workers redundant and lands them on the streets. He wanted people to be industrious, *"not like a machine, but like the busy bee."* and affirmed" *I would prize every invention made for the benefit of all and welcome the machine that lightens the burden of millions of people living in villages.".* The machine he extolled was the Singer sewing machine. Johan Galtung comments " *In Gandhi's famous acceptance of the Singer sewing machine we see the acceptance of a machine that can be operated by one person and hence leads neither to exploitation nor to alienation. This leads to the interesting question of whether Gandhi would have accepted more machines of this kind (such as a lap top computer) that do not meet with the objections of machinism".* Galtung thinks he would have and states *"The crucial point is autonomy, in small decentralized units, not excluding all the fruits, bitter or sweet of modern, technical civilization."*

The devastating effects on India of mass production with modern machinery is well brought out by Paul Kennedy *writes* " *India imported a mere 1 million yards of cotton fabric in 1814, but that figure had risen to 51 million yards by 1830 and to a staggering 995 million yards by 1870. The awful result, according to one calculation, was that whereas the British and Indian peoples had roughly similar per capita levels of industrialization at the onset of the Industrial Revolution in 1750, India's level was only one hundredth of the United Kingdom's by 1900"*

Claude Markovits has evaluated Gandhi's views on science quite accurately. He points out that whereas Gandhi was a severe critic of the way science was applied in the fields of industry, medicine and armaments, he was not opposed to science itself. *"In fact his whole approach, including to the*

Divine, was very scientific as he wanted to discover Truth through experimentation, as the title of his biography clearly indicates. One might even question if Gandhi's God was transcendent, since he believed so strongly in Truth only through experimentation".

Michael Sonnleitner presents Gandhi's "*scientific*" formulation of Satyagraha thus :

"*There is an indefinable mysterious power that pervades everything...a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That Power is God...This God is a Living Force. Our life is of that Force. That Force resides in but is not of the body. He who denies the existence of that great Force denies to himself the use of that inexhaustible Power and thus remains impotent. .....*

Satyagraha is soul force pure and simple and whenever and to whatever extent there is room for the use of arms or physical force, there and to that extent there is so much less possibility for soul force. These are purely antagonistic forces and I had full realization of this antagonism even at the advent of Satyagraha.....

Satyagraha connotes the living Law of Life. The law will work, just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or not. And just as a scientist will work wonders out of various applications of the laws of nature, even so a man who applies the law of love with scientific precision can work greater wonders"

Sonnleitner concludes "*A sufficiently developed satyagrahi could render venomous reptiles harmless or set a hungry tiger to peace. Gandhi's citing of numerous satyagrahi images thus include the exemplary figure of Daniel, who on entering the den of lions, was left unharmed by them.... No force could withstand the light of the world, the force of God embodied in human kind....Whether or not Gandhi is correct in his formulations, however, must remain an issue of incredible importance, on which our more personal reflections may, in time, shed greater light."*

Gandhi had also stated:

"*Scientists tell us that, without the presence of the cohesive force amongst the atoms that comprise this globe of ours, it would crumble to*

pieces and we would cease to exist. Even as there is a cohesive force in blind matter, so must there be in all things animate and the name of that cohesive force is love.....But we have to learn to use that force among all that lives....Where there is love there is life; hatred leads to destruction".

"I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self sacrifice...The rishis who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton...".

It is notable that Gandhi's *"Living Force"* which can provide *"inexhaustible power"* to every human soul, is remarkably akin to Einstein's E = MC2 formula which reveals that even the tiniest particle of matter is compacted energy which when released could provide enormous quantities of power. Interestingly, the two concepts were enunciated within a year of each other - 1905 and 1906!. Also notable is that Gandhi described his "theory" as *"science in the making"* adding that *"My technique of non-violent struggle is in the same stage as electricity in Edison's time. It needs to be refined and developed"*

In an article in Gandhi Marg on *'Gandhi as a Scientist'* T.S.Ananthu quotes Einstein as follows *"A human being is part of the whole, called by us "universe", a part limited in space and time. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest; a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty."* Ananthu concludes thus *"The above definition of a human being, and the goal of our life on earth, seems so much like a statement by Gandhi - yet, it has come from the pen of Einstein. It indicates the commonality of their world-view, and the Law of Love or Non-Violence as the foundation of the ultimate Law which governs the entire universe - the inanimate as well as the animate parts of it. Gandhi's understanding and personal experience of this ultimate Law of Life entitles him to be called a great scientist."*

j). Environmentalists and Ecologists

Gandhi's leadership in the environmental and ecological fields is clearly seen in his insistence on keeping one's surroundings clean and conserving natural resources.

In early 1936 he had written *"It has become a matter of absorbing interest to me to find out how best to save our people from the heinous sin of fouling Mother Earth every morning"*

In 1941 he wrote *"Instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the countryside, we have dung heaps. The approach to many villages is not a refreshing experience."*

About cow protection he wrote *"The cow to me means the entire sub human world. Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives"*

Judging from the still deplorable sanitary conditions in much of India it must be conceded that Gandhi's impact in this sphere in India, has been minimal. However, in the environmental field some of his devotees, particularly Sunderlal Bahuguna and Medha Patkar have done impressive work. The former, who had met and been blessed, by Gandhi on the day before his assassination, dedicated his life to promoting Gandhi's message, and subsequently Vinoba Bhave's , in the Tehri region of the Himalayan foot hills. In 1973, when commercial tree cutting began here a local woman named Chandi Prasad Bhatt and he, initiated the Chipko movement. Their anthem was :

'Laathi goley khayenge, apne paed bachatenge
(We shall face the batons and bullets, we shall save our trees)
Bhaley Kulhade chamkenge, hum paedon par chipkenge
(The shining axe will be raised, we will cling to the trees)

This brave struggle was waged for eight years and attracted both nationwide and international attention. It finally achieved its objective in 1981 when commercial felling of trees in the Himalayan foothills was banned.

The reputed ecologist, Vandana Shiva, chose the commencement date of Gandhi's Salt March for launching her 'Bija Satyagraha' against genetically modified seeds, and declared "*Just as Gandhiji had made salt at Dandi to announce non-cooperation with the unjust British Salt Laws, the Bija Satygraha is an announcement of people's non-cooperation with the unjust patent laws that make seed saving by farmers a crime*" .

Writing about his ecological wisdom Schumacher wrote "*Gandhi had always known, and rich countries are now reluctantly beginning to realize, that their affluence was stripping the world. The USA with 5.6% of world population is consuming upto 40% of the world's resources, most of them non renewable....Enough is now known about the basic facts of space ship earth to realize that its first class passengers are making demands which cannot be sustained very much longer without destroying the space ship*"

The international Green Movement clearly acknowledges his inspiration. Petra Kelly, a founder of the German Green party, has publicly stated: "*In one particular area of our political work we have been greatly inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. That is in our belief that a life style and method of production which rely on an endless supply and a lavish use of raw materials generates the motive for the violent appropriation of these raw materials from*

Petra Kelly

other countries. In contrast, a responsible use of raw materials, as part of an ecologically oriented life style and economy, reduces the risk that policies of violence will be pursued in our name". Like minded Green parties have been formed in a number of other European and Latin American countries.

That Gandhi has impacted substantially in the global environmental field is testified by the United Nations' Environmental programme making his maxim "*The world provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not for every man's greed.*" the slogan of its publicity campaign. The US Public Broadcasting service, in its RACE TO SAVE THE PLANET TV series has done likewise.

The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development held at Rio de Janeiro, in June 1992, attended by 117 heads of state and representatives of 178 nations was the largest ever gathering of world leaders. The treaties and other documents they signed committed their nations to the pursuit of economic development in ways that would protect the Earth's environment and nonrenewable resources.

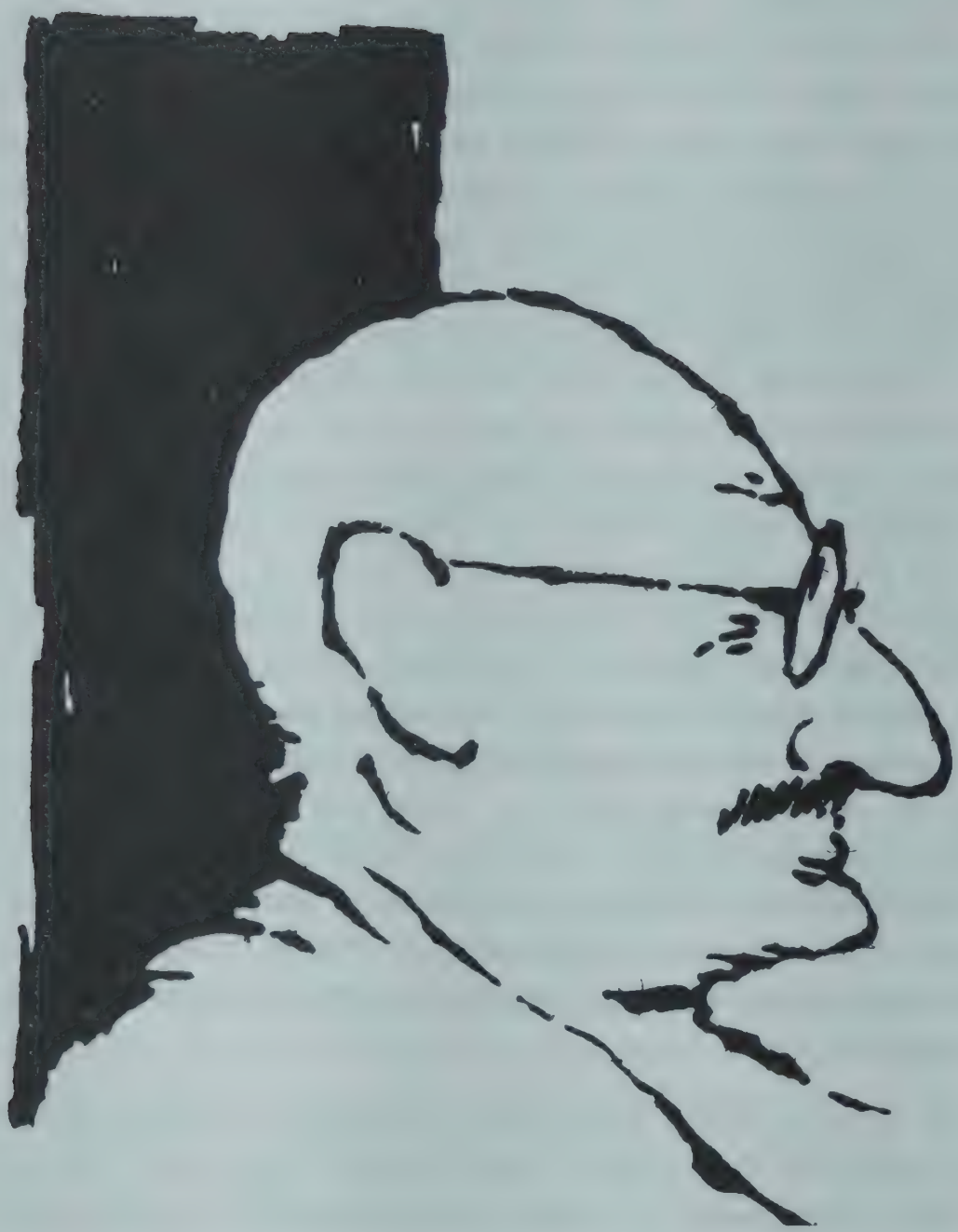
In September 1999, the UN General Assembly adopted a *'Declaration on a Culture of Peace'* calling upon governments, international organizations and civil society to promote this culture based on respect for life, freedom ,justice, tolerance, dialogue, cooperation, democracy, equal rights and opportunities for all and sustainable development. The year 2000 was declared as *'The International Year for the Culture of Peace and the period 2001 - 2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World'*. This was the first time that non-violence was made a clear and distinct component in a universal declaration and action programme.

Vindication of Gandhi's Vision and Strategy in Global Scenario

Western Civilization and WW II:

In his 'Hind Swaraj' Gandhi' made devastating comments on Western Civilization. Many critics have branded these as grossly inaccurate and a *"slanted view"*. Yet some of these comments have become reality almost exactly as he predicted them. *"Formerly they wore skins and used spears as their weapons. Now they wear long trousers ...and carry revolvers containing five or more chambers....Formerly men travelled in wagons; now they travel in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day..... It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airships and reach any part of the world in a few hours.....They will press a button and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button and they will have their newspaper; a third and a motor car will be waiting for them....Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill.... There are now diseases of which people never dreamed of before and an army of doctors is engaged in finding out their cures, and so hospitals have increased.... Its votaries calmly state that their business is not to teach morality. This civilization is irreligion and it has taken such a hold on the people of Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad. ....According to the teaching of Mohammed this would be considered a Satanic civilization. Hinduism calls it the Black Age ('Kali Yuga')."*

When the Munich *"Peace with honour"* Agreement was signed and flaunted as a guarantee of *"Peace in our time"*, Gandhi accurately foresaw it was *"a peace that is no peace. It is only war postponed"*. In the World War that followed over forty million people, mostly civilians, were killed all over Europe, North Africa, East and South East Asia and hundreds of cities, towns and villages were destroyed. Every belligerent used the most destructive weapons he could lay his hands on, the Americans even dropping atom bombs on two Japanese cities. In Germany, during the War's last three years 6 million Jews, gypsies, homosexuals and mentally handicapped, went up as smoke from highly efficient gas chambers. With such heinous crimes committed by countries in the vanguard of modern civilization,



"Man becomes great exactly in the degree in which he works for the welfare of his fellow men"

Art work by Sudhir Shelar

Gandhi's concurrence with its categorization as *"Satanic"* is perhaps not as *"slanted"* as it initially appears. Today many people, particularly in Germany and Italy, readily concede that Hitler and Mussolini were *"half mad"*.

Gandhi's emphasis on the simple life and reduction of one's wants is considered antediluvian by many. Yet, Paul Kennedy writes *"The overall consensus - with the exception of a few revisionists - is that the projected growth in the world's population cannot be sustained with our current patterns and levels of consumption..... Unlike animals and birds, human beings destroy forests, burn fossil fuels, drain wetlands, pollute rivers and oceans and ransack the earth for ores, oil and other raw materials...Developed northern regions place much greater stress per capita upon the earth's resources than do developing countries simply because the former consume much more.....According to one calculation, the average American baby represents twice the environmental damage of a Swedish child, three times that of an Italian, thirteen times that of a Brazilian, thirty five times that of an Indian, and 280 times that of a Chadian or Haitian because its level of consumption throughout its life will be so much greater. That is not a comfortable statistic for anyone with a conscience"*.

Independent India's new leaders and its Constitution Makers ignored Gandhi's ideas of a village based democracy of *"concentric circles"* and minimal state control of the economy. They adopted Westminster style parliamentary democracy and a Fabian Socialist planned economy. The country has paid a heavy price on both counts. Gandhian democracy, with indirect elections to the district, state and national *"panchayats"* would not have needed expensive electioneering which has become the most fecund cause of corruption in India. Most contenders for a parliamentary seat now spend atleast 1 crore (10 million) rupees. Whereas only one of them wins, all raise money from some source or the other. The same applies to state, district and local elections though these are less expensive. Winners recoup their expenditures by diverse means while in office. The scandals in arms purchases, fake legal papers and revenue stamps, MPs demanding payments to ask questions in parliament and release their development funds, deplorable roads etc are glaring proofs of this. Transparency International's 2004 *'Global Corruption Barometer'* places India's CPI (Corruption Perception Index) on its scale of 10 (very clean) to Zero (very corrupt) at the dismally low level of between 2 and 3!

This despite the fact that economic liberalization, introduced in 1991, removed the other major avenue of corruption - payment for much sought after industrial and import licences. Even ardent admirers of Nehru and Indira Gandhi now admit India's forty five year state dominated economic development phase has been baneful rather than beneficial to it. Enormous investments in industrialization notwithstanding, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and ill health still afflict over a third of India's population; social inequalities and the urban - rural divide have widened and corruption has spread like cancer in every section of government and society. India today has the world's largest middle class, its second largest technically trained manpower, some billionaires, many millionaires, as also most of its illiterates and destitutes. Unless it handles its economic globalization process with focus on the *"poorest and most helpless man"* of Gandhi's *"Talisman"* its rich -poor and urban - rural divide would be greatly worsened.

Gandhi did everything possible to prevent the partition of India. He tried his best to persuade Lord Mountbatten, Jinnah, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhai Patel to his point of view but failed. In early April 1947 he told Lord Mountbatten *"If you are not to leave a legacy of chaos behind you have to make your choice and leave the government of the whole of India ....to one party."* He made quite clear a Jinnah led government could be this *"one party"* provided India was not divided and this government ruled in the interests of Indian people as a whole. Strongly opposing Jinnah's *"Two Nation"* argument he passionately asked *"Why is India not one nation? Was it not one during the Moghul period? Is India composed of two nations? If so why only two? Are not Christians a third, Parsis a fourth and so on? Are the Muslims of China a nation separate from the other Chinese? ....I make bold to say that Jinnah and those who think like him are rendering no service to Islam; they are misrepresenting the message inherent in the very word Islam."* .

Subsequently, when Pakistan was becoming a reality, he wrote *"The army is going to be divided....This division of the army certainly fills the heart of every patriot with fear and misgivings. Why are two armies being created? Are they to defend the country against foreign aggression or are they to fight each other ...."*

The massacres that preceded and accompanied partition, the four India Pakistan wars (including Kargil) and Pakistan's blood drenched break up within 25 years shows, as Rajmohan Gandhi affirms, that *"Gandhi was prophetic in the future he painted"*. He points out that some years after India's independence Britain began to apply NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule) and adds *"If NIBMAR had been applied to India partition would have been avoided, but for India HMG's principle was no majority rule before an all Indian consensus"*. This gave Jinnah a veto on all proposals unpalatable to him.

The three Arab Israeli wars, two 'Intifadas', and continued suicide bombings despite Israel's 350 kilometre long security wall are vindication of Gandhi's 1938 assertion *"What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct."* Tom Segev, in his book *'One Palestine Complete'* exposes the falsehood that Palestine was *"A land without people for a people without land"* and reveals the close British-Zionist collaboration in the 1920-40 period to create a sizable Jewish presence there through immigration. He quotes British General Walter Congreve, who wanted the Balfour Declaration revoked : *"We might as well declare that England belongs to Italy because it was once occupied by the Romans"*. Amnon Rubinstein in his book *'From Herzl to Rabin: The Changing Face of Zionism'* condemns the fundamentalist *"Divine Right"* claim to all of Palestine, which has resulted in Israeli settlements in Gaza and the West Bank with Palestinians confined to 16 disconnected enclaves comprising only 42% of their land. Gerald Kauffman, former British Labour Minister and a Jew, wrote in The Spectator: *"In the Seder service for Passover which is recited in religious Jewish homes in Israel and the Diaspora there is a telling reminiscence :Avadim hayinu b'Mtzrayim (we were slaves in Egypt). What the Egyptian Pharaoh did to the Jews, the Jews have now done to the Palestinians - except that the Palestinians have no Moses to bring them salvation and no Red Sea will part for them"*.

Israel's security concerns have led it to make preemptive strikes against Egypt and Syria in 1967, destroy Iraq's Osirak Nuclear reactor in 1981, invade southern Lebanon in 1982, and arm itself with nuclear weapons (as revealed in 1986 by its long imprisoned nuclear scientist Mordechai Vanunu). Its acting Prime Minister Olmert has recently hinted, it might have no option but to destroy Iran's nuclear capabilities in view of its

hostile intentions towards it. This could set off a West Asian conflagration as Iran, a country of 80 million people, is militarily strong and its Shahab 3 missiles have a 2000 kilometre range. If attacked by Israel or its US patron it will undoubtedly retaliate with its missiles against Israel and American British troops in Iraq or their ships in the gulf.

A wise, far sighted leader who realized Israel's security could only come from a *"land for peace"* agreement with Palestinians was Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Sadly, he was assassinated in November 1995 by a Jewish fanatic for his willingness to give up *"God given land"*. Ariel Sharon, whose ruthless security policy increased rather than ended Palestinian suicide bombings, decided in early 2005 to withdraw Israeli troops and settlers from Gaza and *"some"* West Bank areas. Stiffly opposed in this by Likud, the party he founded, he left it and launched a new 'Kadima' party in October 2005. This induced a realignment of Israeli political forces in favour of his withdrawal policy. Unfortunately, a severe stroke incapacitated him soon thereafter. In the recent Palestinian election, Hamas, which calls for Israel's destruction, has won a large majority and will form the next government.

57 years after its birth Israel is yet to find security and a peaceful 'modus vivendi' with Palestinians and most of its neighbours.

President Anwar Sadat may or may not have been inspired by Gandhi but in 1977 admitted the truth that Egypt's 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars with Israel (in the last mentioned of which Egypt had notable initial

President Sadat addressing the Israeli Knesset, Nov. 20, 1977

success) were disastrous for it. He abjured war and took the path of non-violent conflict resolution. He made his historic journey to Jerusalem in November 1977. This opened the door to negotiations with Prime Minister Menachem Begin and led, with President Carter's good offices, to the historic Camp David Accord of September 1978. In March 1979, Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty that formally ended the state of war that had existed between them for 30 years. Soon thereafter, mutual diplomatic relations were established. By June 1982 Egypt regained from Israel all territory it had lost since the 1967 war.

In 1991 Jordan's King Hussein took the same path as President Sadat and also secured a peace treaty and diplomatic relations with Israel.

In August 1994, after many decades of armed resistance to British presence in Northern Ireland, Sinn Fein and its President Gerry Adams, (who organized the 1981 hunger strikes by IRA prisoners and galvanized the Northern Ireland Catholic community) announced a unilateral 18 month ceasefire, subsequently extended it and in April 1998 signed the historic *"Good Friday Agreement"*. They acknowledged the Truth that violence had not achieved their objectives and the non-violent approach was more likely to do so. In the June 1998 elections Adams won a seat in the Northern Ireland Assembly and subsequently became a member of the British Parliament. A new chapter in Northern Ireland's long and painful struggle for national reunification has thus been opened.

Gandhi had averred that non-violent struggle could be waged by everyone including women, illiterate peasants and the youth, and was the best way of empowering them. Recent events in Chile and Bolivia have proved this.

The Pinochet regime was brought down in 1989 by a well organized, non-violent *"peoples power"* movement. Its leaders publicly acknowledged they were influenced by Ganhi and Martin Luther King. Among the participants in this movement was Michelle Bachelet, who was imprisoned, tortured and exiled by the regime. In mid January 2006, she was elected President of Chile, the first woman to hold that high office in her country. In her first post election victory statement she echoed Gandhi and said *"Violence came into my life, destroying what I loved, because I was a victim of hate. I have dedicated my life to reversing that hate and converting it into understanding, tolerance and love".*

Evo Morales, an Aymara (indigenous Bolivian) coca farmer and leader of the Movement toward Socialism (MAS) had obviously watched the "*peoples power*" movement in Chile and taken lessons from it. In 2003 he led thousands of coca farmers and other peasants, on a 120-mile march to La Paz to demand that foreign companies be made to pay a 50-percent royalty to Bolivia for the natural gas they extract. This uprising forced President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada out of office. Carlos Mesa, who succeeded him was harried with the same demand and many more sections of the population including teachers and street vendors joined the uprising. In March 2005, the Bolivian Congress finally enacted a law imposing a 32-percent tax in addition to the 18 % royalties that foreign companies had been paying. Bolivia's natural gas reserves are second only to Venezuela but it had been benefiting very little from them. In early January 2006, Evo Morales was elected President of Bolivia and became the first Aymara to lead his country, thus ending almost 500 years of his people's subjugation by the Spanish Conquistadores and their descendants. Bolivian style Satyagraha achieved this miracle!

Truth, Justice, and non-violent conflict resolution are even more imperative today than during Gandhi's, Sadat's or Pinochet's times. The spate of corporate scandals in Enron, Worldcom, Marconi, Tyco, Parmalat and other mega firms, resulting in bankruptcies, and impoverishment of their very many stake holders, are the calamitous consequences of their CEOs deviating from Truth for personal gain or for allaying share holder concerns. The same is true for political leaders who indulge in corrupt practices, permit destruction of places of worship and invade countries on false pretences, occupy their lands and appropriate their natural resources. The terrorist attacks in New York, Washington, Nairobi, Dar e Salaam, Bali, Mumbai, New Delhi, Tel Aviv, Madrid, Morocco, Istanbul, Djakarta, London, Sharm al Shaik and Amman in less than sixty months of the new millenium are the tragic outcome of these untruthful, iniquitous and short sighted policies. The various video recordings of Osama bin Laden. Ayman al Zawahiri and many suicide bombers testify to this.

Richard Clarke, Counter Terrorism Director under Presidents Clinton and George Bush until he resigned in March 2003, writes "*Instead of addressing the Al Qaeda threat with all the attention it required after*

9/11, we went off on a tangent, off after Iraq, off on a path that weakened us and strengthened the next generation of Al Qaedas. For even as we have been attriting the core of Al Qaeda, it has metastatized. Like a Hydra it has grown new heads. There have been far more major terrorist attacks by Al Qaeda and its regional clones in the 30 months since 9/11 than there were in the same period prior to this momentous event."

Karen Armstrong echoes the same sentiment: "*The world changed on September 11th. We now realize that we in the privileged Western countries can no longer assume that events in the rest of the world do not concern us. What happens in Gaza, Iraq or Afghanistan today, is likely to have repercussions in New York, Washington or London tomorrow and small groups will soon have the capacity to commit acts of mass destruction previously only possible for powerful nations".*

In an era of asymmetric warfare and an illicit arms trade, including in components of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), the truth, justice, and non-violent conflict resolution path is the safest for all political leaders and nations to follow. The 7/7 London bombings have shown how easily people with anger and hate in their hearts can assemble and explode bombs in subways and buses even when intelligence and security services are on highest alert. 9/11 provides an even starker lesson for in this case the assailants were armed only with US planes, operated from US airports and destroyed its most valuable assets, in broad daylight. Since then expert hackers, one of whom was in his teens, have managed to break into top secret computers of the US Defence Department. A "*Cyber Pearl Harbour*" is now a distinct possibility. Defence research analysts have begun to write about highly destructive ultrasonic weapons and micro unmanned aerial vehicles, "*the size of a humming bird*" networked to ground controls which could destroy shopping malls, railway stations and even planes by "*acting as aerial mines*". '*Grave New World: Security Challenges in the 21st Century*', edited by Michael Brown,

enumerates such fearsome threats. To avert these, more imperative and effective than heightened security and preemptive strikes is to remove anger and hate from peoples minds, and replace them with hope based on Truth and Justice. The grave problem of terrorism is as much a symptom of the hateful delirium gestated by iniquitous domestic and foreign policies, as they are of evil mind sets. As President Kennedy put it *"Those who make peaceful change impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."*

Much terrorism in recent years has emanated from Moslem countries. Samuel Huntington provides a clue to its cause. *"The West's efforts to universalize its values and institutions, to maintain its military and economic superiority, and to intervene in conflicts in the Muslim world generate intense resentment among Muslims. During the fifteen years between 1980 and 1995,the US engaged in 17 military operations in the Middle East, all of them directed against Muslim states. No comparable pattern of US military operations occurred against the people of any other civilization."*

Jonathan Schell writes *"As the new century begins, no question is more important than whether the world has now embarked on a new cycle of violence, condemning the 21st century to repeat or even outdo, the bloodshed of the 20th."* He states the present dangers are not, as before, *"the massed conventional armies and systematized hatreds of rival great powers"* but *"the persistent and steady spread of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the unappeased demons of national, ethnic, religious and class fury"*. He argues that, notwithstanding the shock of September 11th and the need to take forceful measures to meet the threat of global terrorism, a new and promising path has opened up. *"For in 20th century history another complimentary lesson, less conspicuous than the first but just as important, has been emerging. It is that forms of non-violent action can serve effectively in the place of violence at every level of political affairs. This is the promise of Mohandas K. Gandhi's resistance to the British Empire in India, of Martin Luther King's civil rights movement in the United States, of the non-violent movements in Eastern Europe and Russia that brought down Communism and the Soviet Union"*

Gandhi as the Ideal Leadership Model

Deepak Chopra affirms *"Mahatma Gandhi expressed a profound truth when he said "There is no way to peace. Peace is the way".* He explains what Gandhi meant was that peace cannot be achieved through violence and war but by adopting life styles and policies that promote peace. He points out that humanity has achieved many feats - rationality, exploring the psyche, overcoming superstition and disease etc and affirms the next evolutionary step is for humanity to renounce war and violence. *"Just as Newton's formulation of the law of gravity meant human beings were finally and forever on the road to a new science, a road that led to a completely transformed world, you and I can create a new turning point."*

Gandhi's leadership, completely self made, sprouted and grew to full stature as his *'Experiments with Truth'* and application of the *"Eternal Verities"* to his daily challenges progressed. He neither had the benefit of personality development, communication, organization, management or leadership courses nor good looks nor great oratory. His only guidance came from his *"inner voice"*. Among the vital truths it taught him were that: One man can make a difference; strength comes not from physical capacity but from an indomitable will; given a just cause, capacity for self suffering, and avoidance of violence, victory is a certainty; he who fears, fails and leadership by example is the most effective. Striving to reach the greatest of all Truths - God - he discovered great truths in diverse fields including leadership, politics, economics, science, ecology and management and most importantly, the fact that the fundamental law governing human existence is love. He himself acknowledges this. *"The deeper the search in the mine of truth the richer the discovery of gems buried there"*. A century earlier, Emerson had asserted : *"What lies behind us and what lies before us are small matters compared to what lies within us"*. Carl Jung enunciated the same truth more pithily: *"Who looks outside dreams; who looks inside awakes."*

Extremely timid in his youth Gandhi became a fearless *"star performer"* once he took up the sword of Truth and the shield of non-violence. Dressed like a *"half naked fakir"* he ended up becoming a citizen of the world and in at least two cases an icon of the information age: Apple computers used a seated picture of his in their 1998 global advertising

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TATA

The march to Dandi still reverberates with inspiration for us all. In 1997, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of India's independence, we used a Dandi march photograph to launch a [illegible] campaign. The campaign was heralded as among the most evocative use of Gandhiji's legacy for a public service message. The response to the campaign was so overwhelming, its theme became our corporate theme. This, we believe, also reflects the fact that the Tata brand values resonate well with Bapu's belief system.
As a measure of gratitude we, at Tata Finance, have sponsored this book

campaign with just two words below it : *"Think different"*, A Tata Finance advertisement used a photograph of his, with the words *"Find Purpose, The Means Will Follow"*.

"Each of us must be the change we wish to see in the World" Gandhi urged. Many, particularly among the young, mistakenly assume Gandhi was born a saint, lived like a saint and died a martyr. This is quite untrue. His autobiography clearly reveals he had the usual childhood foibles. On one occasion he purloined a piece of family jewellery to enable his brother to repay a debt. On another occasion he had a *"meat eating escapade"* with a Muslim friend though brought up as a strict vegetarian. As a young man he had strong sexual appetite and a violent temper and went through an agnostic phase. It was only after he embarked on his *'Experiments with Truth'* at about the age of 35 and took the 'bramhacharya vow' that he firmly took the ascetic path, and that too in stages. His *"half naked fakir"* stage began only in 1922 when he was 53. However his thinking was always focused on finding practical solutions to problems, and on how best to inspire and lead his countrymen, none of whom were as ascetic or non-violent as him, to freedom and social reform.

The path that Gandhi took to leadership is open to all those willing to adopt his principles and dedication. Most people in the world, particularly in India, have deep reverence for God in all His manifestations, particularly as *'Sat'*. *'Ahimsa Paramo Dharma'* has been an integral element in India's spiritual tradition since Lord Mahavira and Buddha's advent five centuries before Christ. Truth, justice, love and peace are basic elements in all religious traditions as the following excerpts from their sacred scriptures reveal :

"Truth is victorious, never untruth, Truth is the way;
Truth is the goal of life,
Reached by the sages who are free from self will"
***Mundaka Upanishad** (3.1.6)*

"That one I love who is incapable of ill will,
Who is friendly and compassionate; living beyond the reach of I and Mine,
And of pleasure and pain, patient, contented, self controlled,
Firm in faith, with all his heart and all his mind
Given to me. With such a one I am in love".
***The Gita** (Chapter 12.Verse 13)*

"The force of arms cannot do what peace does.
If you can gain your desired end with sugar, why use poison?
What sensible man would abandon his bale of cotton
For fear of having to pay a toll on it?"
***Nitivakyamrta** (344- 50)*

"Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge unto yourselves. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Look not for refuge to anyone beside yourselves....And whosoever, Ananda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, and hold fast to the Truth, it is they Ananda, among my Bhikkus, who shall reach the very topmost height. But they must be anxious to learn."
From the Buddha's last sermon

There are ten strong things. Iron is strong but fire melts it;
Fire is strong but water quenches it;
Water is strong but the clouds evaporate it;
Clouds are strong but the wind drives them away;
Man is strong, but fears cast him down;
Fear is strong but sleep overcomes it;
Sleep is strong yet death is stronger; But loving kindness survives death.
The Talmud

"May peace triumph over discord,
may generosity triumph over niggardliness.
May love triumph over contempt,
May the true spoken word triumph over the false spoken word,
May the Truth triumph over falsehood"
***Zoroastrian Yasna** 60.5*

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called children of God;
***The Bible**; Mathew 5,9*

"O Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace,
where there is hatred let me sow love; where there is doubt, faith
where there is despair, hope; where there is injury, pardon.
Oh Lord, grant that I may seek not so much to be consoled as to console.
To be understood as to understand, to be loved as to love,
For it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned
And it is in dying that we are raised to life everlasting."
St. Francis of Assissi

"Works of love are always works of peace"
Mother Theresa

"God has given the sun a shining glory, and the moon a wondrous light,
And through their measured beauty, people have the count of time
And learn the number of years.
He has created these to advance righteousness and Truth,
And to explain His signs to people who understand"
***The Koran Sura** 10 : 5*

"O believers, be seekers after Justice, witnesses for God, even though it be against yourselves or your parents and kinsmen."
***The Koran**: Surah 4 : 133*

"Those who spend their wealth in the way of God will be rewarded like a grain of corn which grows seven ears and each grain sprouts a hundred grains, for he knows and gives in abundance"
***The Koran**: Surah 2:261*

I laugh when I hear that the fish in the water is thirsty,
You do not see that the real is in your home,
and you wander from forest to forest listlessly.
Here is the Truth! Go where you will, to Benares or to Mathura;
If you do not find your soul, the world is unreal to you.
Kabir

"Those who seek Truth, and speak Truth
Their bodies and minds become truthful....
Those who have forgotten Truth, cry in agony
And weep while departing"
***Adi Granth**, Sri Raga*

"I shall work for an India in which the poorest
shall feel that it is their country,
in whose making they have an effective voice"

Art work by Abu Abraham

Adhering to Truth, justice, love, non-violence and charity is therefore not as difficult as it might appear to those who equate this path with Gandhi's ascetism. By adopting this path everyone can, like Gandhi, emerge from trembling timidity into fearless, inspired and trustworthy leadership, like Martin Luther King and host of other non-violent leaders did, without becoming ascetics.

In affirming that *"Each of us must be the change we wish to see in the World"* Gandhi was calling upon us to provide this leadership in our respective spheres whether we are politicians, government officials, lawyers, corporate or business executives, scientists, military personnel, peace activists, knowledge workers, professors, teachers, students or just ordinary men and women. Everyday, each of us is confronted with some untruth, injustice, hatred, anger, despair or violence and have a choice of either ignoring it, participating in it or confronting and fighting it. Leadership lies in choosing the last mentioned course. Gandhi provides an excellent model and beacon for this.

Leadership potential is embedded within each of us, but has to be located through introspection and nurtured through disciplined and dedicated effort. Like the man with the artificial leg who climbed Mount Everest and the totally handicapped man in a wheel chair who has emerged as the present world's greatest astrophysicist, each of us can achieve great things if we strive wholeheartedly for them. Demosthenes, handicapped in youth by stammering, overcame it with persistent orations on a lonely beach with pebbles in his mouth, and emerged the greatest orator in Classical Greece!

Each of us not only has the potential for leadership but also the duty of providing it for improving our families, professions, wards, societies and nations. Einstein's words " *The world is a dangerous place to live not because of the people who are evil but because of the people who don't do anything about it."* are very true, and pertinent to each of us.

To be the change we wish to see in the world we do not need to make dramatic changes in our lives. We only need to firmly resolve to be ever truthful in all our actions, never to cause physical, emotional or mental injury to anyone and replace all anger and hate in our hearts with love

and compassion. Taking the simple resolution to always speak the Truth has a remarkable immediate effect. It becomes quite difficult thereafter to commit any sin, since every sin has to be camouflaged with very many lies!

Thousands of Rotarians all over the world have made Truth the touchstone of their lives for many years now. Their simple '*4 Way Test of the things we think, say or do*' reads as under and can be adopted by each of us.

Is it the Truth?
Is it Fair to all concerned?
Will it build Goodwill and Better Friendships?
Will it be Beneficial to all concerned?

All those who adopt the path of Truth, justice, love and non-violence become pin points of light and emitters of positive energies in the encircling darkness of untruth, injustice, hate and violence. As these pinpoints of light and energy emitters proliferate, the resultant effulgence reveals new paths for transformation of families, neighbourhoods, societies, nations and the world, which in energy terms, as scientists and ecologists have established, is a single, enormous, living organism.

When those in apex positions adopt the path of truth, justice, love and non-violence they become role models for others to follow. "*Yatha raja, thatha praja*" (Like King, like subjects) the ancient Sanskrit maxim verily states. With inspiring, trustworthy, just and peaceful leaders, their governments, countries, corporations and other institutions, are best equipped for good governance and the security, progress and prosperity of their citizens and stakeholders.

Politicians, at every level, have the best opportunity for exercising inspiring, trustworthy, leadership. They deal with the interests of more people than any other type of leader. The respect they command today is minimal. The revelations about payments and commissions demanded for asking questions in parliament and releasing funds from their MPs Development quotas have shocked and revulsed the nation. For those of them who wish to cleanse the system and provide effective leadership in

doing so Toynbee's words about Gandhi wading into the slough, showing how it could be purified and remaining uncontaminated despite immersion in it, are good beacons. Uncontaminated by corruption, communalism, casteism and violence, politics can be transformed into what it is meant to be - selfless service of the people. Political leaders of integrity and dedication are revered and long remembered. Those who indulge in *"politics without principles"*, pursue narrow personal, party and ideological interests and do not hesitate to defile and mislead their *"Temples of Democracy"* and even to take their countries to war on false pretences become objects of their people's distrust and derision. The same applies to public officials who work hand in glove with their political masters in corrupt practices and betray their constitutional oaths.

Gandhi's leadership is very relevant to lawyers since he held a law degree and showed how a good knowledge of the Law could be effectively used to fight injustice and oppression. Those of them who are doing this, through pro bono legal advice and public interest litigation, have earned much respect and gratitude from their fellow citizens.

Gandhi's *"level five"* leadership and trusteeship concept as also Peter Drucker's assertion that good management is *"deeply involved with spiritual concerns - the nature of man, good and evil"* are very pertinent to corporate industrial, business, banking and others leaders in the economic field. *"Commerce without morality"* might bring short term gains, but ultimately leads to disaster as numerous recent examples in the US and Europe have shown. The same applies to those who forsake the work ethic and take to enjoying *'Wealth without work'* with no concern for their disadvantaged fellow citizens.

The fact that much modern scientific and technological progress has magnified human and environmental destruction rather than safeguard them establishes the validity of Gandhi's words that *"science without humanity"* is a cardinal sin. Scientists like Louis Pasteur, Thomas Edison, Alexander Fleming, Linus Pauling, Norman Borlaug, M.S.Swaminathan and others, whose scientific work and discoveries have contributed enormously to human welfare will always be gratefully remembered and honoured.

The inspiring words of Henry Adams "*A teacher affects eternity. He can never tell where his influence stops*"; of Abraham Lincoln to his son's teacher : "*Teach him to listen to all men, but teach him also to filter all he hears on the screen of Truth and take only the good that comes through*" and of Gandhi "*To secure real peace in the world one has to start with the children*" are excellent leadership beacons for all those in the teaching and knowledge professions. They are best placed to mould the minds and characters of the innumerable youth who come into their class rooms and lecture halls and fashion them into well informed, incorruptible and trustworthy leaders.

Gandhi's transformation from trembling timidity to fearless leadership through steadfast adherence to truth and extensive reading of the sacred books of all the great religions and those written by and about the world's great thinkers, is the best path for students aspiring to be leaders, to follow.

The heroic roles which Sarojini Naidu, Usha Mehta, Aruna Asaf Ali and other women freedom fighters of the 1930s and 194os and of Medha Padker, Vandana Shiva and Arundhati Roy today are inspiring examples of intrepid leadership for women. So is that of Rosa Parks, the American Negro woman who, on December 1st, 1955, boldly refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery City bus to a white man, thus setting in motion the US Civil rights Movement, which under the dynamic leadership of Martin Luther King, expanded nationwide and secured the passage of the US Civil Rights Act in 1970, which outlawed all forms of racial discrimination. A more recent example is that of Cindy Sheehan, mother of the young US soldier killed in Iraq, who boldly installed herself outside President Bush's Crawford Ranch and inspired many fellow Americans to support her demand to *"Bring our troops home"*.

The Iraq war, globalization and the internet have created a well knit, global, anti-war, justice and peace *"people's movement"*. The World Social Forum (WSF) is the most impressive embodiment of it. All those wishing to participate in the global peace movement can now do so quite easily. About the global peace activists, David Hardiman writes "*They stand for a human spirit that refuses to be crushed by the 'Leviathan' of the*

modern system of violence, oppression and exploitation. They aspire for a better, more equitable and non-violent future. In them, Gandhi - their model - still lives."

Our armed forces are the largest, most disciplined, secular body of men and women in India today. The prime requisites for leadership among them is to safeguard this precious legacy and ensure high morale among officers and troops at all levels. Even super powers have been defeated by poorly armed but well led, highly motivated and fearless Vietnamese and Afghan fighters. As some highly industrialized European countries have already incorporated *'Civilian and Social Defence'* in their national defence plans military leaders of other countries, including our own, might like to give due consideration to this form of defence. Though their military training is focused on mastering knowledge and skills regarding the deployment and use of sophisticated weapons including WMDs, they might like to note that 9/11 has radically changed the concept and context of war and the way it is to be waged in the present asymmetric warfare scenario. As Clausewitz noted *"Each age has its own peculiar forms of war"* and those involved in warfare need to take *"a shrewd glance at its main features in each particular age"*.

The last two decades have been tragic and shameful ones for India because of the destruction of the Babri Masjid in December 1991, the anti-Sikh and anti-Muslim massacres of 1984 and 1991 and the subsequent attacks on the Akshardam Temple and Christian churches, priests and nuns. India's well deserved reputation as the birthplace of religious tolerance with its age old maxim of *"Ekam Sat Viprah Bahuda Vadanti"* has been greatly tarnished. The need for enlightened leaders, both religious and secular, in all religious communities, to prevent such nefarious act in future is both urgent and imperative. Gandhi's words: *"I reject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to reason and is in conflict with morality"* and *"Independent India as conceived by me will have all Indians belonging to different religions, living in perfect friendship"* are good leadership beacons for them.

Finally, for every man and woman, of whatever faith, community, nationality or station in life, Gandhi's words *"Real Swaraj will come not*

by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority" are a clarion call to leadership. Whenever and wherever authority is abused and untruth becomes the basis for public policy and conduct, whether at local, state, national or international level, every citizen has the bounden duty to resist it, and motivate others to do likewise. Probity of leaders and accountability in governance can only be ensured thus. Gestating leadership at grassroots level and protecting citizens' rights and freedoms are also best achieved thus.

Rajmohan Gandhi defines his renowned grandfather very modestly as "The Good Boatman". Inspite of the euphemism, it is a good definition. In traversing the turbulent river of life with its many whirlpools and cataracts there is no greater asset and comfort than a good boatman who is well attuned to the hidden forces of nature, its high winds and sub-surface currents. The river of life runs not only in broad watery expanses like the Ganges and Amazon in their lower reaches, but also in narrow rivulets and streams in their upper reaches. All these need good boatmen to ferry timid wayfarers across them. There is need for many boatmen of big and modest skills. Each of us has the opportunity, and duty, to try to meet that need.

Glossary

Ahimsa	: Non injury; non-violence
Ashram	: A spiritual retreat; training centers for Gandhian Satyagraha and constructive programmes.
Bania	: A member of the trader or merchant class.
Bhakti	: Devotion, worship
Bhoodan	: Voluntary gift of land for the landless;
Brahmacharya	: Celibacy; one of Hinduism's four stages of life.
Brahmin	: A member of the priestly caste, the highest in Hindu society.
Dharma	: Duty, customary social obligation, Hindu morality.
Dhoti	: A piece of ankle length cotton cloth fastened at the waist; the traditional dress of the Indian peasant.
Hartal	: work stoppage ; an informal, non industrial strike
Jainism	: The religion of strict non-violence preached by Mahavira (6th Cty. BC)
Jain	: a follower of Jainism.
Jati	: caste or subcaste
Kali Yuga	: The last and worst of the four ages in the Hindu cycle; the Black Age.
Khadi	: Hand spun cloth; the prime element in the first phase of Gandhi's freedom Struggle in India
Khilafat	: Post First World War Muslim movement to protect the traditional rights and privileges of the Caliph (Khalifa) of Islam, who was the Imperial Sultan of Turkey.
Kshatria	: Member of the warrior or kingly caste.
Mahatma	: Literally means great soul; a respectful title conferred on Gandhi by the Nobel Laureate poet Rabindranath Tagore.
Mantra	: A religious or magical formula.
Maulana	: A respectful title for a Muslim scholar.
Marwari	: A merchant caste, originally from Rajasthan in Western India
Panchayat	: A village council of elders, which makes community policy by consensus and also arbitrates disputes

Panchayat Raj	: Village democracy; a polity based on the village.
Ramayana	: One of the two great religious epics of India, the other being the Mahabarata.
Sabha	: Association, assembly.
Saivite	: A worshiper of Lord Shiva, the third deity in the Hindu Trinity, the first two being Brahma and Vishnu.
Sanatanist	: Orthodox Hindu.
Sanyasi	: A holy man; a wandering monk.
Satya	: Truth; Ultimate Reality.
Satyagraha	: Literal meaning is firmly adhering to Truth; Truth Force; Gandhi's strategy for active, non-violent resistance
Sarvodaya	: Literal meaning is the total uplift of all; Gandhi's social philosophy based on Ruskin's 'Unto the Last'
Shuddi	: Hindu reconversion programme initiated by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj movement in the late 19th century.
Sudra	: Member of the lowest (fourth) caste in Hindu society; generally a peasant or labourer.
Swadeshi	: Literally means produced within the country; Gandhi's programme of self reliance.
Swaraj	: Self rule which Gandhi redefined as rule over self.
Taluq	: Sub-division of a district.
Taluqdar	: Title of a large landholder, particularly in North Eastern India.
Tapas	: Ascetic practices
Ulema	: Muslim clerics
Vaishnavite	: Hindu sect worshipping Vishnu, second Deity in Hindu Trinity.
Varna	: Literally colour; the Hindu caste system.
Vedas	: the ancient sacred texts of Hinduism.
Vedantin	: A vedic scholar; the philosophical tradition based on the Vedas.
Zamindar	: Title of the largest landholder, particularly in North Eastern India.

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About The Author

Holding a Masters Degree in Economics from Madras University, Pascal Alan Nazareth was selected for the Indian Foreign Service in May 1959. He has served in India's diplomatic and consular missions in Tokyo, Rangoon, Lima, London, Chicago and New York and as India's High Commissioner of India to Ghana and Ambassador to Liberia, Upper Volta, Togo, Egypt, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador & Belize.

During the 1982-85 period, when Mr. Nazareth was ICCR Director General multifaceted Indian cultural festivals were held in Britain, USA and France and an international conferences on 'Buddhism and National Cultures' and 'India and World Literature', and a Poetry Festival at New Delhi. The outcome of an India Greece Symposium organized during this period at Delphi was the scholarly publication 'India and Greece'. Subsequently when Mr. Nazareth was Ambassador to Egypt and Mexico 'India and Egypt' and 'India and Mexico' were published following similar symposia held in Cairo and Mexico City.

Mr. Nazareth retired in May 1994 and since then has been guest lecturer at the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore. Among foreign institutions he has lectured at/participated in seminars are the East West Centre and University of Hawaii at Honolulu, Stanford University, UC Berkeley, MIT, Yale University, San Francisco World Affairs Council, Asian Institute of Management, Athena and Phillipines Universities at Manila, University of Ghent, Mahatma Gandhi Institute in Mauritius and Aspen Institute, Colorado, USA. His lectures have been published in electronic form as two CDRs titled 'Historical Perspectives - Asia' and 'Historical Perspectives - Europe'.

Mr. Nazareth is a founder and Managing Trustee of Sarvodaya International Trust which is dedicated to promoting the Gandhian ideals of Truth, nonviolence, communal harmony, humanitarian service and peace. It was established in March 1995. Its website Id. is www.sarvodayatrust.org.

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